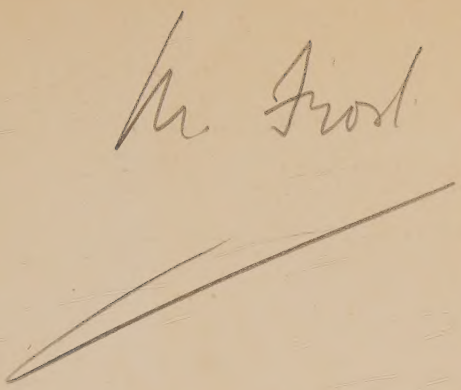
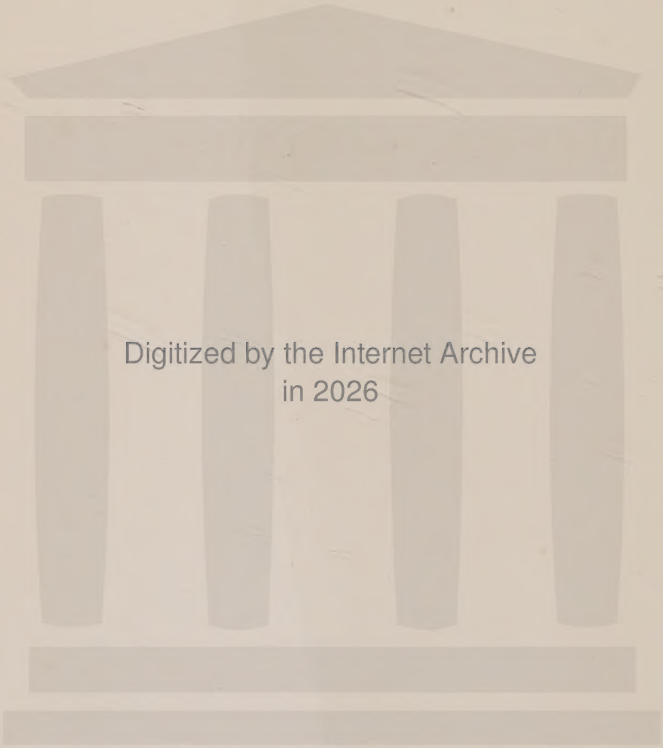
21/-
W

Central BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS




Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/lifeofsaintbonif0000will_b8b0

HARVARD TRANSLATIONS

HARVARD TRANSLATIONS

EUGIPPIUS: The Life of Saint Severinus. Translated into English for the first time, with Notes, by GEORGE W. ROBINSON, A.B., Secretary of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. 8vo. $1.50 net

WILLIBALD: The Life of Saint Boniface. Translated into English for the first time, with Introduction and Notes, by GEORGE W. ROBINSON.
8vo. $1.15 net

THE
LIFE OF SAINT BONIFACE

BY

WILLIBALD

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FOR THE FIRST TIME
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

GEORGE W. ROBINSON
SECRETARY OF THE HARVARD GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
ARTS AND SCIENCES

CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1916

LIBRARY
CENTRAL BAPTIST SEMINARY
KANSAS CITY 2, KANSAS

COPYRIGHT, 1916
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

208.1
B715
Z2Wi

MANIBUS

SAMUEL COLCORD BARTLETT
HENRICI ELIAE PARKER
EDUARDI RUSH RUGGLES
LUDOVICI POLLENS
RUFI BYAM RICHARDSON
MARVINI DAVIS BISBEE
CAROLI FRANCISCI RICHARDSON

PROFESSORUM DARTMUTHENSIUM
INTER ANNOS MDCCCXC ET MDCCCXCIII
SACRUM

SEDEM SEPULCRI SERVET IMMOTUS CINIS
MEMORIA VIVAT NOMINUM

41405

PREFACE

THIS first English translation of Willibald's Life of Saint Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, is based on Wilhelm Levison's edition of the text: *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii Archiepiscopi Moguntini* (Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1905), pp. 1–57.

I am glad to express my obligations to Professors Ephraim Emerton and Edward Kennard Rand of Harvard University for helpful suggestions; and to Mr. Frederick C. Dietz, who has kindly examined for me a number of editions and translations in the British Museum.

For some of the references in the notes I am indebted to earlier commentators. Where these references seem to have become common property, I have considered specific acknowledgment unnecessary.

For the sake of convenience, I have employed certain abbreviations in the footnotes, as follows:

E......Ernst Dümmler, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae.* In *M.G.H.*, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi, tom. i (Berolini, 1892).
M.G.H...*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
P.L......Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina.*

GEORGE W. ROBINSON.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS,
June, 1915.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 11

THE LIFE OF SAINT BONIFACE 21

A LIST OF EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE LIFE 95

INDEX OF AUTHORS CITED IN THE NOTES . . 105

GENERAL INDEX 109

INTRODUCTION

THE chief sources from which our knowledge of Saint Boniface is drawn are, first, the writings of Boniface himself, particularly his Letters, with the letters addressed to him which have been preserved with his own; secondly, the Life by Willibald. The Life of Gregory,[1] the saint's beloved disciple, by Liudger,[2] also presents a number of valuable notices; and the Life of Abbot Sturmi[3] of Fulda, by Eigil,[4] gives the best and fullest account of the beginnings of the great abbey of Fulda,[5] the special delight of the declining years of Boniface,[6] and the spot which he chose as the final resting place for his body.[7] Other contemporary material includes a few passages in the chroniclers, and in the Lives of Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt,[8] and Wynnebald, abbot of Heidenheim,[9] brothers, and relatives of Boniface,[10] by the Nun of Heidenheim.[11]

[1] Abbot of Saint Martin at Utrecht; died about 775.

[2] 'Apostle of the Frisians and Saxons'; bishop of Münster *c.* 804–809; died 809.

[3] Died 779. [4] Died 822.

[5] Founded 12 March 744. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, 13.

[6] *E.*, 86; Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i (2d ed., Leipsic, 1898), p. 566.

[7] *E.*, 86; pages 79, 90, below.

[8] Page 77, below. Bishop Willibald died not before 786.

[9] Died 19 December 761.

[10] *Vita Wynnebaldi*, 4: "qui carnale propinquitatis et sanguini copulatione illo fuerat sociatus atque glutinatus."

[11] The Nun appears to have written the Life of Willibald, from his

The extant works of Boniface comprise a grammar, some fragments on metres, poems, letters, and fifteen sermons.[1] The Life of Saint Livinus,[2] formerly wrongly ascribed to him, was probably composed about the middle of the eleventh century.[3]

The grammar (*Ars Domni Bonifacii Archiepiscopi et Martyris*) was edited by Angelo Mai in 1835.[4] It may

dictation and notes, not long after 23 June 778, and the Life of Wynnebald a little later, from the relation of his sister Waldburga, abbess of Heidenheim, and of his friends and disciples. — Both Lives are printed in *M. G. H.*, Scriptores, xv, 1.

[1] The authenticity of the sermons has been doubted; but without sufficient cause. See the remarks of F. W. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (Göttingen, 1846–48), i, pp. 408 f.; and Adolf Ebert, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur bis zum Zeitalter Karls des Grossen* (Leipsic, 1874), p. 614.

The so-called *Poenitentiale S. Bonifacii*, printed by Anton Joseph Binterim in his *Denkwürdigkeiten der christ-katholischen Kirche*, v, 3 (Mayence, 1829), pp. 430–436, cannot in its present form be earlier than the ninth century. Whether its substance may be in part derived from the teachings of Boniface has been a matter of discussion. F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851), p. 89, n. 2; P. H. Külb, *Sämmtliche Schriften des heiligen Bonifacius* (Ratisbon, 1859), ii, pp. 439 f.; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, i (Mayence, 1883), p. 745.

August Nürnberger publishes from Vatican manuscripts some doctrinal fragments ascribed to Boniface. *Programm des königl. katholischen Gymnasiums zu Neisse*, 178 (Neisse, 1883), pp. xvii ff. One of these fragments is highly interesting to students of the tradition of the Roman *exempla virtutis*.

[2] First published by Nicolaus Serarius, *Epistolae S. Bonifacii* (Moguntiae, 1605), pp. 233–252.

[3] Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (7th ed., Berlin, 1904–), i, pp. 147, 433.

[4] *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis Codicibus editorum Tomus VII* (Romae, 1835), pp. 475–548.

be assigned without hesitation to the period of the author's teaching activity at Nhutscelle.[1] The work is wholly based on earlier writers, above all Donatus;[2] but the material is revised with a view to the practical needs of teacher and scholar.[3]

The fragments on metres[4] probably date from the same period.[5] They appear to be based largely on Isidore of Seville.[6]

Of the poems the most important is a series of twenty riddles on the virtues and vices, in 388 hexameters. John Allen Giles published the first 161 verses in 1844,[7] from a manuscript in the British Museum; and the whole poem, from a Cambridge manuscript, in 1851.[8] The best edition is by Ernst Dümmler[9] (Berolini, 1881). The riddles cannot be said to possess

[1] Page 33, below: "imbued . . . with the eloquence of the art of grammar."

[2] Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, i (Munich, 1911), p. 149.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Printed in Thomas Gaisford's *Scriptores Latini Rei Metricae* (Oxonii, 1837), pp. 577–585; and (in part) by August Wilmanns, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, Neue Folge, xxiii (1868), pp. 403 f.

[5] Page 33, below: "imbued . . . with the pithy modulation of the eloquence of metres"; *E.*, 98.

[6] Wilmanns notes a comical misunderstanding on the part of Boniface. Isidore (*Etymologiae*, i, 37 — Wilmanns's reference is wrong) says *prosae autem studium sero viguit*; Boniface renders this *Orationis autem studium primum egit Seron.*

[7] *Bonifacii Opera*, ii, pp. 109–115. Not the complete poem, as Manitius wrongly says (*op. cit.*, i, p. 151): erring through a misunderstanding of a passage in Dümmler's preface.

[8] *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci, et aliorum*, pp. 18–24, 38–45.

[9] *M. G. H.*, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, i, pp. 3–15.

much merit as poetry; nevertheless they are important because of the light which they shed upon the ideas and character of Boniface. We have a brief introduction, and then addresses of the ten principal virtues and as many vices: Love, Orthodoxy, Hope, Justice, Truth, Mercy, Patience, Christian Peace, Christian Humility, Virginity; Greed, Haughtiness, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Luxury, Envy, Ignorance, Vainglory, Negligence, Wrath. That the riddles were composed after Boniface entered upon his work in Germany has been inferred from verses 323 f., in the address of Ignorance:

> "Ob quod semper amavit me Germanica tellus,
> Rustica gens hominum Sclaforum et Scythia dura."

In addition to the riddles, there remain verses addressed to Dudd,[1] which may have served as a dedication of the grammar; [2] and lines attached to letters to Nithard [3] and Pope Zacharias.[4]

The letters were first edited by Nicolaus Serarius in 1605; [5] the best editions are those of Philipp Jaffé [6]

[1] Dümmler, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.

[2] Manitius, *op. cit.*, i, p. 149.

[3] *E.*, 9.

[4] *E.*, 50. Dümmler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–19, publishes all these as *Bonifatii Carmina*, with a preface. He also assigns *Carmina*, iv (p. 18), to Boniface, but withdraws the ascription in his edition of the Letters printed eleven years later. *E.*, 140.

[5] *Epistolae S. Bonifacii Martyris, Primi Moguntini Archiepiscopi, Germanorum Apostoli, pluriumque Pontificum, Regum, & aliorum.* Moguntiae, 1605.

[6] In his *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, tom. iii (Monumenta Moguntina), pp. 24–315.

(1866) and Ernst Dümmler [1] (1892). The collection in which they are preserved includes not only letters of Boniface and his successor Lul, but many written to them, and a number of others of the same time; besides a few earlier ones by Aldhelm [2] and others,[3] apparently included as models of composition. The letters of Boniface, which cover the period from about 716 nearly to the time of his death, are of great interest and value. Some are to the popes,[4] concerning questions of doctrine and administration; [5] one is a striking message of admonition to King Aethelbald of Mercia; [6] others are to the Frankish rulers; [7] but a peculiar charm attaches to those which the saint wrote to his devoted Anglo-Saxon friends, male [8] and female,[9] assuring them of his warm and constant love, thanking them for gifts,[10] and asking, now for advice,[11] now for their prayers in his behalf [12] and in that of the pagan Germans [13] whose conversion he sought, but perhaps

[1] In *M. G. H.*, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi, i, pp. 231–431.

[2] *E.*, 1, 2, 3; 6V (in verse).

[3] *Ibid.*, 4, 5, 7, 8; 6I–6IV (in verse).

[4] To Zacharias, *ibid.*, 50, 86; to Stephen III, *ibid.*, 108, 109.

[5] *Ibid.*, 50, 86, 109. [6] *Ibid.*, 73.

[7] *Ibid.*, 48, 93, 107.

[8] *Ibid.*, 9, 32, 33, 34, 38, 63, 69, 74, 75, 76, 78, 91.

[9] *Ibid.*, 10, 27, 30, 35, 65, 66, 67, 94, 96.

[10] *Ibid.*, 27, 30, 75, 78, 91.

[11] *Ibid.*, 32, 33, 34, 63, 91.

[12] *Ibid.*, 27, 30, 33, 34, 38, 65, 66, 67, 74, 76, 91, 94.

[13] *Ibid.*, 38, 65. 46 is a general request " to all God-fearing Catholics of English race and stock " to pray for the conversion of the heathen Saxons.

most eagerly of all for books.[1] "I beseech that thou copy for me in gold the epistles of my lord, Saint Peter the Apostle, unto the honor and reverence of the Holy Scriptures before the eyes of fleshly folk when I preach." [2]

Dr. Giles has given English translations of letters of Boniface to Bishop Daniel of Winchester, the Abbess Bugga, and the youth Nithard.[3] Dr. Isaac Gregory Smith translates the letter to Bugga; others to the Abbess Eadburga and to Abbot Dudd; and part of one to Pope Zacharias.[4] Edward Kylie has translated the correspondence of Boniface and his English friends.[5]

The sermons, first printed in 1733,[6] are most easily accessible in Giles's [7] or Migne's [8] edition of the works of Boniface. Dr. Giles, in the preface to the second volume of his edition, turns into English Remy Ceillier's summary of their contents; and a translation of part of one may be found in Dr. Smith's *Boniface*.[9] In the sixth sermon is an especially vigorous denunciation of heathen practices, and a lively description of the place of torment that awaits those who are guilty of them or of other capital sins.

[1] *E.*, 33, 34, 35, 63, 75, 76, 91. [2] *Ibid.*, 35.

[3] *Bonifacii Opera* (1844), i, pp. 12–20. *E.*, 63, 94, 9.

[4] *Boniface* (1896), pp. 81–93. *E.*, 65, 94, 34, 50.

[5] *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface* (London, 1911): in the series called *The King's Classics*.

[6] At Paris, in Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand's *Veterum Scriptorum Amplissima Collectio*, tom. ix, coll. 185–218.

[7] London, 1844: vol. ii, pp. 57–107.

[8] *P. L.*, vol. lxxxix (Parisiis, 1850), coll. 843–872.

[9] Pp. 99 ff.

The Life of Boniface by Willibald, the translation of which we give, was written within a few years of the saint's death, almost certainly not later than 768,[1] at the request of Boniface's successor, Lul, and of Bishop Megingoz of Würzburg. Willibald, a priest of Anglo-Saxon origin,[2] is an author worthy of all respect as regards industry and veracity. The chief defects of his work are two: a style inflated and obscure, supported by no sufficient foundation of grammatical knowledge; and the comparative scantiness of the information which he supplies concerning much of the later life of Boniface.[3] Fortunately the omissions can be supplied in part from the other sources.

Later lives of Boniface are printed, in full or in part, and discussed by Levison in his *Vitae Bonifatii*. These add little or nothing to our knowledge; indeed, they have rather served to confuse the history of the saint. This is particularly true, in different ways, of the worthless Mayence legends collected in the work which Levison calls the ' Fourth Life,' and of the attempts to simplify and popularize made by the monk Otloh of St. Emmeram, the most distinguished writer of his

[1] Levison, *Vitae Bonifatii*, p. x.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. viii f. He was long confused with Saint Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt. *Ibid.*, pp. vii f. To this confusion may be traced Manitius's amazing reference to him as a relative of Boniface. *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, i, p. 146.

[3] E. g., he does not mention Pope Zacharias (741–52), with whom Boniface had a copious correspondence. Wattenbach discusses the general question of the omissions. *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i, pp. 151 f.

time, whose work was written during his stay at Fulda in the years 1062 to 1066.[1]

The modern literature relative to Boniface is imposing in quantity, particularly in Germany; of its average quality not so much can be said. One may begin with the notices annexed to the editions which I have named, and with the sections in the Ecclesiastical Histories of Rettberg and Hauck, in Ebert's *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur*, and in Max Manitius's *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*: these, with Potthast's *Wegweiser*, will point the way to further study. In English there is little of scholarly worth, save for the booklet *Boniface*, by Isaac Gregory Smith, in the series *The Fathers for English Readers*.

We are indebted to England, on the other hand, for William Selwyn's fine poem *Winfrid, afterwards called Boniface* (Cambridge and London, 1865), in blank verse.[2] In German poetry Johann Baptist Rousseau's *Das Bonifazius-Lied*[3] (Mayence, 1855) is not without merit. Dr. Wiss's Latin poem *Bonifacius*, affixed to

[1] "Petitionibus vestris, fratres Fuldenses, prout scientiae meae parvitas permisit, parere studui. Petistis enim, ut sancti patris nostri Bonifacii vitam precipuo quidem elegantique, utpote sancti Willibaldi, stilo antiquitus editam, sed in locis quibusdam ita infirmo intellectui velatam, ut difficile pateat quo oratio tendat, hanc ego sententia apertiori reserarem." Otloh, *Vita Bonifacii*, Prologus.

[2] 915 lines.

[3] *Zur Erinnerung an die Verherrlichung des heil. Winfried-Bonifazius, des Apostels von Deutschland und Erzbischofs von Mainz, bei der eilfhundertjährigen Jubelfeier von dessen Martyrium im Juni 1855.* Fifty-six pages. There is a curious *Politische Apostrophe* (pp. 50–52)

his translation of the Letters (Fulda, 1842), also should not be overlooked. Trithemius's story of a poem on Boniface in heroic verse, by Ruthard, a monk of Hirschau, is a pure invention.[1]

The importance of the work of Boniface in the ecclesiastical, and, indeed, in the general history of Europe cannot easily be exaggerated. His activities may, however, be viewed under several aspects, according as we consider him as one of the foremost scholars of his time, introducer of learning and literature and to a large extent of the arts of civilized life into the German lands; or as the great champion of Rome and of ecclesiastical uniformity in Central Europe; or as a missionary of God, a soldier and leader in the great Christian warfare against the heathen of the North. The relative value which should be assigned

in denunciation of the English for their aid to Turkey in the Crimean War:

> " Vor eilfhundert Jahren und noch früher
> Sandte England Männer uber's Meer,
> Deutsche Heiden, die im Pferdgewieher
> Gottes Nähe wähnten, als Erzieher
> Zu gewinnen für die Christuslehr'.
>
> Nach eilfhundert Jahren ziehn die Briten
> . . . Hört! . . . mit einer Riesenflotte aus,
> Um für Die, wodurch wir nur gelitten,
> Heiden, Haremshelden, Sodomiten,
> Christen zu bereiten blut'gen Strauss."

[1] Joannes Trithemius, *Chronicon Monasterii Hirsaugiensis* (Basileae, 1559), p. 21: " Ruthardus quoque . . . hujus coenobii Hirsaugiensis . . . scripsit . . . passionem sancti Bonifacii archiepiscopi heroico carmine pulcherrime in duobus libris." See Levison, *Vitae Bonifatii*, p. xlvii, n. 2.

to his labors in enforcing uniformity within the church, and in seeking the conversion of the pagan folk without, must always remain an open question. No doubt certain tendencies, political rather than religious, in the German historical writing of the last half-century have tended to exalt the proportionate importance of his work as an ecclesiastical organizer. I think the man himself saw more truly, as the witness of his martyr's death attests.

THE LIFE OF SAINT BONIFACE

THE LIFE OF SAINT BONIFACE

PROLOGUE

To the lords venerable and truly in Christ most dear, Lul and Megingoz colleagues in the episcopacy, Willibald, priest in the Lord, though unworthy.

Paying due complaisance of obedience to your holiness, but with no confident reliance upon my own literary training, I have cheerfully obeyed in will and act your pious fatherly command. With my feeble strength I have begun and carried through unto the end the difficult task which ye imposed upon me. But I beseech that if the result shall be otherwise than as your wish desires, ye weigh justly the weakness of my infirmity and the loftiness of the task laid upon me, since it is the strongest proof of my regard that I do not refuse obedience to your sublime command. If, on the other hand, I shall accomplish anything worthy and that shall profit our times, assuredly it must be ascribed to the divine gift,[1] and to your command and earnest desire; since sometimes the pious wish of one who earnestly desires may be likened unto the hand of

[1] For the words and ideas of the Prologue to this point, Willibald is largely indebted to the prefatory letter prefixed by Victorius Aquitanus to the Easter Table which he sent to Archdeacon Hilary of Rome in 457. *M. G. H.*, Auctores Antiquissimi, ix (Berolini, 1892), pp. 677 f.

a man who presses the oilpress, and by the strength of its pressing obtains at least a little of the sweet fruit of the longed for knowledge, and, bestowing it, revives the famishing. For your holiness has determined to make equal, even to prefer, the foolish to the wise, and the less capable to the prudent, and to commit to me in my ignorance that which surely without effort ye could have presented in the language of the wise. But I entreat that the supplication of continual prayer may bedew him whom the oilpress of your command hath pressed. I entreat that his mind, dulled by the fog of sloth, may be awakened by the wish of your spontaneous love: in order that for the task, to which it has been summoned through your compulsion, it may be strengthened by a vigorous literary style.

For at the request of religious and Catholic men, to whom, whether in the parts of Tuscany or the confines of Gaul or the approaches of Germany or even within the bounds of Britain, great report had come of the fame and of the dazzling miracles of Saint Boniface the martyr, ye have constrained me to write, after the pattern of those whose pure lives and virtuous characters the most holy fathers have put on paper in elegantly circumlocutory language [1] and handed down, the beginning, course, and end of his life, as I should ascertain it, making the most careful investigation in my power, from the narration of his disciples who had long tarried with him, or of yourselves. And as, when the

[1] *Eleganti verborum ambage.* An excellent description of Willibald's own ideal of style.

covenant of the first transgression was cancelled [1] and the rays of the true light began to dawn, Hegesippus, who is reported to have come to Rome in the time of Anacletus,[2] published, it is said, five books of church history for the profit of readers; [3] and as Eusebius of Caesarea, the most famous among the writers of history, and his assistant, the martyr Pamphilus, composing the histories of their own and preceding times with wondrous eloquence of language, published innumerable volumes; [4] and, further, as Gregory [5] of blessed memory, a man most learned in literary studies and occuping the glorious height of the apostolic chair, wrote the life of the sainted confessors, exhibiting a marvellously managed dialectic style, and published the work in four books in syllogistic form,[6] which to this day, placed in the libraries of the churches, bring to posterity the laborious grandeur of knowledge: so ye bid me to reveal to this age and to the ages to come the life of the saint, and his lofty virtues, his practice of piety, and the strength of his abstinence.[7] But although I know that I am a slight and insignificant

[1] Hebrews, ix, 15.

[2] Anicetus, bishop of Rome 157 ?–168: sometimes known as Anacletus I.

[3] Saint Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, 81.

[5] Gregory the Great, pope 590–604.

[6] *Dialogorum Libri IV de Vita et Miraculis Patrum Italicorum et de Aeternitate Animarum.*

[7] Here and in the following sentence Willibald borrows words and phrases freely from the prologue of Rufinus's *Historia Monachorum. P. L.*, xxi, coll. 387f.

writer to tell so great a story, yet, since the wish of your benevolence demands, I will attempt, with your aid, this task which ye have given me in charge: not relying on the pride of my own presumption, but trusting confidently in the assistance of Catholics; nor seeking from my weak pen the spreading abroad of my own glory; but furnishing by the relation of so great a story an example that shall profit readers, as each, learning from this pattern, is led to better things by the perfection of his own progress.

CHAPTER I

How in Childhood he began to serve God

The illustrious and truly blessed life of Saint Boniface the archbishop, and his character, consecrated particularly by imitation of the saints, as I have learned them from the narratives of pious men, who, having zealously attended upon his daily conversation and the way of his piety, handed down to posterity as an example those things which they heard or saw: this life and character I seek, hindered as I am by the darkness of knowledge, to interweave in the meagre warp of this work and to present concisely in the plain garb of history; and from the beginning even unto the end, with the most thorough investigation in my power, to reveal the sanctity of his divine contemplation.

When, in the first bloom of boyhood,[1] his mother had weaned and reared him with a mother's wonted great and anxious care, his father took exceeding great delight in his companionship, and loved him above his brothers. But when he was about four or five years old, it was his passion to enter God's service and to study and toil over the monastic life continually,

[1] We may reasonably suppose that the childhood of Boniface was passed in southwestern England, not far from Exeter. However, the statement that he was born at Crediton, in Devonshire, cannot be traced further back than John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter 1327–69. Levison, *Vitae Bonifatii*, pp. xxix, 5, n. 2.

and his soul panted after that life every day; for already he had subdued unto his spirit all that is transitory and determined to meditate upon the things of eternity rather than those of the present. Indeed, when certain priests, or clerks, had gone out to the lay folk to preach unto them, as is the custom in those countries,[1] and had come to the town and house of the saint's father, presently, so far as the weakness of his tender years permitted, the child began to talk with them of heavenly things, and to ask what would help him and his infirmity [2] for the future.

When thus in protracted meditation he had thought long of heavenly things, and his whole being was straining forward to the future and upward to the things which are on high, at last he laid bare his heart to his father, and asked him to take his desire in good part. His father, astounded at the tidings, rebuked him most vehemently; and, on the one hand, forbade him with threats to abandon him; on the other, incited him with blandishments to the care of worldly business; that he might subdue him to the temporal gain of a transitory inheritance, and, when his own death came,

[1] Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, 9, and *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv, 27 (Giles's translation): "It was then the custom of the English people, that when a clerk or priest came into the town, they all, at his command, flocked together to hear the word, willingly heard what was said, and more willingly practised those things that they could hear and understand." The practice of itinerant preaching appears to have fallen into disuse early in the eighth century upon the general institution of parish churches.

[2] In the sense of human frailty, as in Hebrews, iv, 15; v, 2; vii, 28.

leave him guardian, or rather heir, of his earthly goods. Using the deceitful subtlety of human cunning, he strove in long talks to turn aside the young heart from the fulfilment of the purpose it had formed, and promised, with many a flattering word, that this active life would be more tolerable to the child's tender years than the contemplative life of the monastic warfare:[1] that so he might restrain the boy from the attempt to carry out this purpose; and incite him to the voluptuousness of mundane luxury. But the saint was already in his boyhood filled with God's spirit; and the more his father held him back, the more he took stout heart, and anxiously panted to provide himself a treasure in heaven,[2] and to join himself to the sacred study of letters. And it happened in wondrous wise, as ever the divine compassion is wont to act, that God in his foresight bestowed upon his young soldier consolation in his undertaking and an increase of anxious desire, and a hasty change of mind in the obstinate father: so that at one and the same instant of time sudden sickness crept upon the father, whom the unexpected moment of death already threatened; and the boy's pious desire, long balked, increased most swiftly, and, with the aid of the Lord God, was fulfilled and perfected in its increase.

For the saint's father according to the flesh, when by the wonderful judgment of the dispensation of

[1] See Eugippius, *The Life of Saint Severinus*, English translation (Cambridge, 1914), p. 45, n. 1.

[2] Matthew, vi, 20; Luke, xii, 33.

God great sickness had seized upon him, quickly put away his former obstinacy of heart, made an assembly of the kindred, and of his own free will, but moved by the Lord, directed the boy to the monastery which is called by a name of the ancients Ad-Escancastre,[1] and committed him to an embassy of trusty messengers to deliver to the faithful Wulfhard, who was abbot of that monastery. The little boy, his friends standing beside him, addressed Wulfhard discreetly, and, making his request intelligently, as his parents [2] had taught him aforetime, declared that he had long desired to submit himself to the monastic rule. Forthwith the father of the monastery, after taking counsel with the brethren and receiving their benediction, as the order of the regular life demanded,[3] granted his consent and the fulfilment of the boy's wish. And so the man of God, bereaved of his father according to the flesh, followed the adoptive father of our redemption,[4] and, renouncing the earthly gains of the world, strove to acquire the merchandise of an eternal inheritance: that, according to the veridical voice of truth, by forsaking father, or mother, or lands, or the other things which are of this world, he should receive a hundredfold, and should inherit everlasting life.[5]

[1] Exeter.
[2] Perhaps rather 'relatives.'
[3] Saint Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, 3.
[4] Romans, viii, 14, 15, 23.
[5] Matthew, xix, 29.

CHAPTER II

How in the Beginning he overcame the Passions of Youth and clave to all that was Good

The first section of our narrative is now completed, though in outline.[1] Next we shall briefly make known the virtuousness to which the saint trained himself in the beginning of his studious life: in order that after we have laid the foundation of the fabric of our work, the loftiness of the structure may little by little be raised higher to the summit.

For after he waxed in age and in admirable strength of knowledge, and the seven years of infancy[2] glided away, and the glory of boyhood came, by the inspiration of heavenly grace he was enriched with great and unutterable dignity of mind, as is shown by the examples given later in this work; and, living according to the model afforded by the earlier saints, and in obedience to the ordinances of the venerable fathers, he was manifested and adorned by the purity of many virtues. Moreover he was so kindled by divine genius, and so applied himself especially to the exercise of reading, that in all the moments and hours and revolving years that were added to his life, the helps and the

[1] An imitation of Aldhelm, *De Laude Virginitatis*, 40. Levison points out other verbal borrowings from Aldhelm in the notes to his edition, pp. 3, 11, 12, 14, 18, 27, 42, 50.

[2] Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, xi, 2; Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, 1.

divinely augmented gifts of the Protector on high were also increased within him. And the more he progressed in the school of the priesthood, the more, as trusty men who were his intimate associates have borne certain witness, did his daily studies, in continual meditation day and night upon literary training, incite him to the increase of eternal blessedness, and protect him marvellously against the inimical persecutions of diabolical suggestion, which among men are wont often to cover the tender flower of youth as it were with a kind of fog of cloudy darkness; so that also, because of his ceaseless care and long solicitude and his perpetual examination of the sacred laws, and by the help of the Lord God, the seductive passions of youth within him, and the assaults with which fleshly lusts at first assailed him, for the most part subsided. And more and more his studies carried him forward to the general instruction of the people,[1] which, after the passage of no great interval of time, he began, enlarged, and perfected, in accordance with the episcopal ordinance of ecclesiastical prescription. For he despised the perishable adornments of this world, and in his childhood, under the moderate government of Father Wulfhard, kept the pattern of the monastic life well and duly for many years; until, when sportive boyhood was over and manly youth began,[2] the more glowing desire of his

[1] As described later in this chapter and in the following. The conjecture of Jaffé and Levison, that the reference is to Boniface's later activities among the pagans, cannot be accepted.

[2] At fourteen. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, xi, 2. Willibald appears to have in mind this passage of Isidore, or the similar one

spirit fired him to go, with the consent and advice of his trusty fellow servants and of the father of the monastery, to neighboring monasteries also, whither he was summoned by the want of teachers of reading.[1]

And when in wish and spirit he asked constantly and with great perseverance in prayer that the approbation of the Almighty should be present unto him, at length, inspired by divine grace from heaven, he came to the monastery which even to this day is called Nhutscelle;[2] and, incited by the spiritual love of letters, chose the mastership of Abbot Winbert of blessed memory,[3] who was venerably governing the monastery under the discipline of the rule, and the companionship of the brethren who there dwelt with him in the Lord. And so, joined to the fellowship of the servants of God, he exhibited with great zeal of meditation devoted service to the Lord God, and laborious perseverance in vigils, and the work of reading the divine word; so that he was imbued not only with the eloquence of the art of grammar and with the pithy modulation of the eloquence of metres,[4] but also with the straightforward

of Bede, mentioned above, in the references to the periods of human life which he makes here and elsewhere.

[1] The language is ambiguous. But the connection shows that the lack of teachers was at Exeter.

[2] Nursling, or Nutshalling, between Winchester and Southampton; as Selwyn has it,

> "Nutescelle, sheltering under Winton's see,
> Where woodland Hants o'er narrow channel looks,
> To the fair Isle."

[3] Mentioned by Boniface, *E.*, 63.

[4] It is to this period that we may best assign the grammatical and metrical writings of Boniface, mentioned in the Introduction.

exposition of history and with the triple interpretation of spiritual knowledge,[1] and at last shone so praiseworthily in immense knowledge of the Scriptures and in skill of teaching, that he was even a teacher to others of the traditions of the fathers, and a model master, who before did not refuse to be the pupil of inferiors. For it is the manner of holy conversation, that he dare not prefer himself to others, who has refused to be subject to others: because he will not be able rightly to apply to inferiors the service of obedience which he does not duly render to those that are set over him by the direction of heaven.[2]

This service the saint in such wise gave, under a monk's obedience, to all the members of the community, and above all, as the discipline of the rule demanded, to his abbot, that in accordance with the prescribed pattern of the noble constitution of the blessed father Benedict[3] he applied himself without ceasing to daily labor of his hands and to the regular performance of his duties: being an example for all of right living, in word, in conversation, in faith, in

[1] Joannes Cassianus, *Conlationes*, xiv, 8, 1: "Spiritalis autem scientiae genera sunt tria, tropologia, allegoria, anagoge"; *ibid.*, xiv, 8, 7: "Doctrina vero simplicem historicae expositionis ordinem pandit." Cassianus gives as an illustration Jerusalem: which in history is a city of the Jews; by tropology, the soul of man; by allegory, the church of Christ; and by anagoge, the heavenly city of God.

[2] Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, i, 1, in *P. L.*, lxxvii, col. 156 c.

[3] Saint Benedict, *Regula*, 48: "Idleness is the enemy of the soul," etc.

purity;[1] that all might receive of his fruit, and that he might receive from all a portion of the wages of eternity.[2] But God alone, who knoweth what is in the darkness,[3] looked into the depths of his heart and knew the excellency of his humility and charity: by which with sagacious solicitude he had won the leadership over all his fellow soldiers;[4] so that they held him equally in fear and love, and whom they had as fellow in the divine love, him they preferred as father in the mutual honor of the apostolic admonition.[5] And the greatness of his kindness towards the brethren and of his heavenly learning so increased, that the report of his holy exhortation spread abroad, and his fame shone very brightly among the monasteries, those of men and also those of the virgins of Christ. Of their inmates, indeed, great numbers, who were of the stronger sex, flocked together unto him, impelled by thirst for reading, and drank of the most healthful spring of knowledge, and surveyed and read numerous volumes of the Scriptures. But they of the weaker sex, who could not come continually, kept before their minds this man whose vast wisdom was filled with the spirit of divine love; and, running over page after page, applied themselves earnestly to the investigation of heavenly things, and meditated perpetually upon the secrets of the sacraments and the hidden things of

[1] I Timothy, iv, 12.
[2] Compare Mark, xii, 2; John, iv, 36.
[3] Daniel, ii, 22.
[4] *Commilitones.* Compare Philippians, ii, 25; Philemon, 2.
[5] Romans, xii, 10.

the mysteries. And supernal grace so sustained him, that, according to the example of the distinguished preacher and the words of the teacher of the Gentiles, he held fast the form of sound words, in the faith and love of Jesus Christ;[1] "studying to show himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly handling the word of truth."[2]

[1] II Timothy, i, 13. [2] *Ibid.*, ii, 15.

CHAPTER III

That he proffered the Word of Instruction to all, and that he did not assume the Office of Instruction of his own Will, or before he attained the Proper Age

We will turn for a time to the general manner of the saint's daily contemplation and the long continued abstemiousness of his frugality: that, mounting higher and higher, we may more readily relate concisely and briefly his lofty works, and follow to the end the study of his venerable life, and explore it more precisely; and that by a just moderation of the balance Boniface may become an example for us of eternity and a manifest pattern of apostolic learning. Through the examples of the saints, he happily ascended the steep path of heavenly knowledge, and, going on before the people as a leader, he went into and opened the gate of the Lord our God, into which the righteous shall enter.[1] And from his childhood even to decrepit old age, he particularly imitated the wisdom of the departed fathers, inasmuch as he daily and continually committed to memory the words of the prophets and apostles, written with holy pen, and the glorious passion of the martyrs, put in writing, and also the gospel teaching of the Lord our God; and, in the words of the apostle, whether he ate or drank, or whatsoever he did,[2] he

[1] Psalms, cxviii, 19, 20.

[2] I Corinthians, x, 31.

always rendered unto God with heart and voice the commendation of praise and the highest degree of devoted jubilation, according to the word of the psalmist: "I will bless the Lord at all times: his praise shall continually be in my mouth." [1] For to such an extent was he inflamed with ardent desire for the Scriptures, that often he applied himself with every effort to imitating them and listening to them; and the matters which were written for the instruction of the people, he paraphrased and preached to the people with wonderful eloquence of speech and very shrewdly added parables. He had such a right proportion of discretion, that neither was the energy of his rebuke lacking in gentleness, nor the gentleness of his preaching in energy; but as the zeal of energy kindled him, so the gentleness of love made him mild. Accordingly, to the rich and the powerful and to yeomen and slaves he employed an equal discipline of holy exhortation, so that neither did he fawn upon the rich and flatter them, nor did he oppress slaves or yeomen by severity; but, in the words of the apostle, he was made all things to all men, that he might gain all.[2] And he did not seize the certificate of heavenly instruction of his own will, or before the time; nor did he usurp it by stubbornness and robbery; but in the progress of his holy humility, being thirty years or more of age, and supported by the choice of his master and friends, he received the certificate [3] in accordance with the rule of the canonical

[1] Psalms, xxxiv, 1. [2] I Corinthians, ix, 22.
[3] The ordination as priest, with the tonsure.

constitution,[1] and, enriched by divers gifts and presents, entered upon the rank of the priestly office in such wise that he was wholly devoted in will and act to the works of almsgiving and compassion, so far as he had power under the severity of the rule and of the monastic life, and that he always anticipated the hours of the nightly vigils, and occupied himself diligently in the toilsome service of prayer. Anger did not steal away his patience, nor rage shake his forbearance; lust subdued not his continence, nor did gluttony dishonor his abstinence; but he so subdued himself to every frugality of fasting, that, drinking neither wine nor strong drink,[2] he imitated the fathers of the two testaments, and might say, with the distinguished teacher of the Gentiles, "I keep under my body and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."[3]

[1] Forbidding elevation to the priesthood before the age of thirty.
[2] Deuteronomy, xxix, 6; Judges, xiii, 4, 7, 14; Luke, i, 15.
[3] I Corinthians, ix, 27.

CHAPTER IV

That he was sent to Kent by all the Nobles, and that afterwards he went to Frisia

Having brought together above some scattered examples of the lofty virtues of Saint Boniface, we consider that the matters which follow, relating to the persevering strength with which he both held fast to the good things that he had begun and also urged on and quickly hastened his soul to all other good things, certainly ought not to be passed by in silence. We have learned them from the report of trusty men, and are solicitous to set them down in the clear disclosure of writing.

For a long time he tempered his mind with the virtues enumerated above, and advanced from day to day in the aforesaid rank of the priesthood to loftier proofs of good things. Then, in the reign of Ine, king of the West Saxons,[1] a sudden emergency impended upon the rise of a new dissension; and immediately the chief men of the churches, with the advice of King Ine, summoned a council of the servants of God. And presently, when all were assembled, a most healthful discussion concerning this recent dissension wisely arose among the priestly ranks of the ecclesiastical order. And,

[1] 688–725.

adopting the more prudent measure, they decided to send trusty legates in the Lord to the archbishop of the city of Canterbury, Bertwald by name: [1] lest it should be ascribed to their presumption or temerity, if they did anything without the advice of the archbishop. And when the entire senate and the whole order of the clergy agreed upon and adopted this prudent measure, immediately the king addressed all the servants of Christ, asking whom they would charge with the message of this embassy. Then unexpectedly the supreme abbot in Christ, Winbert by name, who ruled over the monastery of Nhutscelle; and Wintra, who directed the monastery which is called Tyssesburg; [2] and Beorwald, who ruled with divine governance the cloister which is called by a name of the ancients [3] Glestingaburg; [4] and also many other fathers of this holy way of life summoned the saint and led him before the king. And the king charged him with the message and with knowledge of the embassy, gave him companions, and sent him on his way with his grace. Charged with this message, the saint after a prosperous journey came to Kent in accordance with the commands of the elders, and discreetly declared to the archbishop, possessed of the fillet [5] of the highest priesthood, everything in due sequence, just as he had been instructed by the king.

[1] Archbishop 692–731.

[2] Tisbury.

[3] The old Saxons.

[4] Glastonbury.

[5] *Infula*: a classical reminiscence coming down to Willibald through Aldhelm (*De Laudibus Virginitatis*, 33, and *Epistola ad Acircium*: pp. 40, 219 Giles) and Boniface (*E.*, 33, 50, 91). See also Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, xix, 30.

And so, having received a willing answer, after not many days he returned to his own country, and wisely delivered the willing answer, of the venerable archbishop to King Ine, and to the aforementioned servants of God in the king's presence, and brought great joy to all. And so thenceforth, by the wonderful benevolence of the dispensation of God, his name was so spread abroad, and was held in such honor, not only among all lay authorities but also among all ranks of the ecclesiastical service, that from that time he advanced more and more, and very often took part in their synodal assembly.

But because a mind consecrated to God is not lifted up by the favor of men or sustained by praise, he began, with great care and solicitude, to hasten more intently to other things, and to shun the society of his relatives and connexions, and to desire foreign places more than those of the lands of his paternal inheritance. But when thus for a long space of time he had most sagaciously weighed well the plan of leaving country and relatives, at length he took occasion to consult Abbot Winbert of blessed memory, and openly disclosed to him all the secrets of his soul, hitherto carefully concealed within his conscience, and with most urgent prayers appealed to the soul of the sainted Winbert to consent to his desire. Winbert, astounded at first with great wonder, for the time being denied the longed for journey to the entreaties and prayers of his disciple, that he might stay the execution of the proposed plan; but at last, through the prevailing

providence of almighty God, the prayer of the suppliant prevailed also. And the saint began the chosen journey, and, by the ordinance of the Lord God, completed it, with such devoted support on the part of the abbot and of his brethren who lived with him under the discipline of the rule, that they willingly provided for the expenses and comforts that are necessary to human life, and, greatly moved in heart, long poured out in his behalf tears and prayers and supplications to the Lord.

Much strengthened by the armor of the spirit, and liberally supplied [1] with the goods of this world, the saint was well provided with the pay [2] of either life. Then, accompanied by two or three of the brethren, whose bodily and spiritual support he required, he set forth. And so, having traversed immense portions of the earth, and rejoicing in the fortunate companionship of the brethren, he came to a place where there was a market of merchandise, and which is called even unto this day by an ancient name of the Angles and Saxons, Lundenwich.[3] And when after no great delay the sailors were about to depart on their return home, the new passenger, with the consent of the shipmaster, diligently went on board ship, and, paying the fare, came with favorable winds to Dorstet; [4] and, tarrying

[1] *Sublimatus*: literally, 'raised high.'

[2] *Stipendiis*: as a military term, in continuance of the metaphor introduced by 'armor' (*armatura*).

[3] London. In the Latin of the period, Londonia, or Lundonia. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii, 3.

[4] Now Wijk bij Duurstede, on the river Lek, about twelve miles

there a while, paid due praise to the Lord God day and night.

But a hostile quarrel which arose, on the occasion of a severe attack of the pagans, between Charles, prince and glorious duke of the Franks, and Radbod, king of the Frisians, threw the folk of either side into confusion;[1] and now the greatest part of the churches of Christ, which formerly in Frisia were subject to the empire of the Franks, were wasted and overthrown, while Radbod conducted an oppressive persecution and the servants of God were driven out. Moreover, heathen shrines were reared, and, sad to say, the worship of idols was restored. Then the man of God, perceiving the wickedness of perverseness, came to Trecht,[2] and waiting there some days, addressed King Radbod, who came thither: that by compassing and viewing many parts of those lands, he might diligently inquire whether in the future an opportunity of preaching would be anywhere opened to him; and purposing in his soul that if in any portion of this folk a way of approach for the gospel should ever become visible, he would minister the seed[3] of the word of God. And this, after the passage of many years, the glorious evidence of his martyrdom attested.

southeast of Utrecht: the chief emporium of the surrounding region until it fell into the hands of the Danes in the ninth century.

Adolf Soetbeer gives some valuable notes on Dorstet in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, iv (1864), pp. 300–303.

[1] In 716.

[2] Utrecht (the Roman *Ultratrajectum* or *Trajectum ad Rhenum*).

[3] II Corinthians, ix, 10.

But it is the singular property of the holiness of saints, that when for the time being they perceive that their labor avails nothing because there is no greenness of life in the spiritual sprout, they remove to wholly different places that are prolific [1] of fruitful labor: [2] since one dwells in a place to no purpose, if the fruit of holiness is lacking. Therefore the saint, when he had dwelt for a moderately long time in the barren land of the Frisians, and the summer and some small part of the autumn had passed, now left the regions that were withered by the lack of the dew of celestial fruitfulness, and, taking with him his travelling companions, departed to his native country. Seeking the retirement of his monastery, he there, received by the love of the exulting brethren, spent also the winter of the second year,[3] that he might imitate the apostolic voice of the teacher of the Gentiles, saying: "for I have determined there to winter." [4]

[1] Reading *foecunda* with the best manuscript, Monacensis 1086. The vulgate reading *foecundo*, which Levison follows, makes no sense.

[2] Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, ii, 3, in *P. L.*, lxvi, col. 140.

[3] That is, two winters and one summer: from the autumn of 716 to the spring of 718.

[4] Titus, iii, 12.

CHAPTER V

How after his Abbot died he tarried a Little Time with the Brethren, and afterward came to Rome with Letters of Introduction from his Bishop

Having now touched briefly and in part upon the virtues of the saint, we shall make clearly known his ensuing history, just as we have ascertained the facts from the reports of newsmongers: that the path of his life and character may be forever more plainly manifest to those who direct themselves toward the pattern of his holy conversation.

When he had passed the great peril of the journey and escaped unharmed from the abysses of the sea, and on his return had betaken himself to the fellowship of his brethren and then joined their company for many days, at length heavy sorrow took possession of his mind, and a fresh grief oppressed his soul. For now he saw the aged limbs of his teacher grow weaker; and at last, while the congregation of the monks stood by, Winbert's sickness waxed exceedingly, and amid shaking and trembling the day of his death was at hand; and finally the saint saw Winbert lay aside the prison of the body and breathe his last breath, while the mourning monks looked on sadly. Often in the hearts of saints the sympathetic piety of compassion shines with special brightness: since for the moment they are

wont to be greatly saddened, but, cleaving to the precept of the apostle, they receive everlasting consolation in the Lord.[1]

The saint now kindly addressed the brethren, and, mindful of the tradition of the fathers, urged them with spiritual discourses to preserve perpetually and in all things the model of the constitution of the rule, and the pattern of ecclesiastical prescription; and taught that they should submit themselves to the government of some spiritual father.[2] Then all with one mind and one voice earnestly demanded that all should implore our saint, who at that time was called Winfrid, to assume the pastoral office of abbot over them. But anon the saint contemned his country's riches and abandoned the primacy of government; and, being now ready and prepared to fulfil his predetermined purpose, excused himself with sagacious care, and declined and refused the whole inheritance.

When now the winter time had passed and the warmth of summer began to glow, and the pristine purpose of the gliding year was renewed, he strove with the utmost solicitude to renew and repeat the journey which he had laid aside. Then, taking letters of introduction from Daniel of blessed memory,[3] watchman of the people[4] of God, he essayed to come to Rome, to

[1] II Corinthians, i, 5; II Thessalonians, ii, 16.

[2] Saint Benedict, *Regula*, 64.

[3] Bishop of Winchester (705–745). As to the letters, see note below.

[4] *Plebis*. See DuCange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, *s. v.* It will be noted that the word had a wide ecclesiastical mean-

the threshold of the apostles. Yet for a while he was detained by the need of the remaining brethren, now fatherless; and in such wise did his love of the wailing monks and compassion for their double sorrow oppose his plan for the moment, that he was oppressed with great mental anguish, and knew not which way to turn. For he feared, on the one hand, lest, if he departed, the flock which had been committed to his master, and which was now without a shepherd's watchful care, should be exposed to biting wolves; on the other, that the autumn season of going abroad might fail him. And when, not unmindful of his piety, almighty God with his wonted clemency wished to deliver from anxious grief his servant, who was perturbed by such great oppression of soul, and to provide a pleasant directorship for the flock, presently Bishop Daniel took thought for the brethren, and set over this church a man of good quality, Stephen by name, and sent our saint, who wished to go upon his long pilgrim journey, safe to his destination.

Forthwith the saint bade farewell to the brethren and departed; and in fulfilment of his wish went through a great extent of country to the place which now, as we have said above, is called by the name Lundenwich. And swiftly mounting the side of a swift ship, he began to try the unknown paths of the seas; the sailors danced; the huge sails rose to the breath of the northwest wind, and with a stiff breeze and a

ing. Possibly some might here prefer the rendering 'diocese' or 'parish.'

lucky voyage they quickly sighted the mouth of the river which is called Cuent,[1] and were now safe from all danger of shipwreck. They came safe to dry land; but they pitched camp in Cuentawich,[2] until the remaining multitude of the company should have gathered together.

When all were collected, while each day the cold of winter threatened, they set forth; and they went to many churches of the saints, and prayed that by the help of God's throne they might surmount the snowy Alpine heights more safely, and experience greater kindness at the hands of the Lombards, and escape more easily from the malicious ferocity of the haughty soldiers.[3] And when by the suffrage of the patronage of the saints and the ordinance of the Lord God the whole band of companions that clave to the retinue of our saint prosperously approached the threshold of Saint Peter the apostle, immediately they returned unmeasured thanks to Christ for their safety. And having entered with great joy the church of Saint Peter chief of the apostles, most of them brought divers gifts, asking the annulment of their sins.

Now when not many days had passed, the saint spoke to the venerable pope of the apostolic see, Gregory of blessed memory, second from the first and prior to the latest of that name, who in the common

[1] The Canche, a small stream a few miles south of Boulogne.

[2] Probably not far from Étaples.

[3] The *milites* or Byzantine troops that garrisoned the Exarchate of Ravenna. Paul Roth, *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens* (Erlangen, 1850), pp. 294 f. So also below, p. 58.

speech of the Romans is also called the Younger,[1] and discovered to him in order the whole occasion of his journey and visit, and explained the nature of the ardent desire for which he had labored long and hard and anxiously. The holy pope, suddenly looking toward him with cheerful countenance and laughing eyes, inquired whether he had brought letters of introduction from his bishop.[2] The saint, aroused, threw off his cloak, and produced a note folded conformably to custom [3] and a letter, and gave them to the admirable man of holy memory: who took the letter, and at once signed to the saint to withdraw. The apostolic pope perused the letter and examined the note of introduction, and thereafter had busy daily conference and debate with the saint, until the summer season for setting forth on the return was at hand. But when the

[1] Gregory II (715–731).

[2] The importance attached to such letters is well indicated by a passage in a letter of Pope Symmachus to Bishop Caesarius of Arles, dated 11 June 514: "Et in hac parte magnopere te volumus esse sollicitum, ut, si quem de Gallicana vel de Hispania regionibus ecclesiastici ordinis adque officii [necessitas] ad nos venire conpulerit, cum fraternitatis tuae notitiam iter peregrinationis arripiat, ut nec honor ejus per ignorantiam aliquam contumiliam patiatur, et, ambiguitate depulsa, a nobis animo securo in communionis gratiam possit admitti." *M.G.H.*, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi, i (Berolini, 1892), pp. 41 f.

[3] *Carta ex more involuta.* Presumably a formal ecclesiastical note of introduction (*epistola formata*), authenticated by a numerical key known only to the initiated. There are good examples of the *epistola formata* in *M. G. H.*, Leges, sect. v, pp. 557–568, and a brief discussion in Arthur Giry's *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), p. 811. In addition to this, as is indicated, the saint carried an open letter of introduction, presumably the one preserved and printed, *E.*, 11.

month Nisan, which is April, went by, and already the gates of Iar, or May,[1] were opened, then, having asked and received the benediction of the apostolic see and a letter,[2] the saint was sent by the most blessed pope to inspect the savage peoples of Germany: that he might consider whether the uncultivated fields of their hearts, if tilled by the gospel ploughshare, would be disposed to receive the seed of preaching.

And so, having collected a great multitude of relics, he retraced his journey in company with his fellow servants, and approached the bounds of Italy;[3] and waited upon Liutprand, most excellent king of the Lombards,[4] with pacific gifts, and addressed him. Being honorably received by Liutprand, he reposed his limbs, wearied from the journey; and thus recompensed, he traversed hills and plains, and passed over the precipitous ridges of the Alps.

Approaching the unknown boundaries of the Bavarians and the contiguous limits of Germany,[5] he proceeded into Thuringia on his journey of inspection, in accordance with the command of the apostolic see: manifestly after the fashion of the most prudent bee, which flies around the fields and meadows in its peculiar way, and, gently whirring its feathery wings, goes among the vast numbers of odorous herbs; and proves

[1] Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, 11.

[2] *E.*, 12. Dated 15 May 719.

[3] In the sense of Upper Italy or Langobardia.

[4] 712–744.

[5] In the narrower sense of the territory east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. So *E.*, 45.

with its gathering mouth where the honey-flowing sweetness of nectar is hidden, and, utterly disdaining all bitter and deadly sap, bears the sweetness to the hives; and, to illustrate by the words of the apostle, proves all things, and holds fast that which is good.[1] So in Thuringia the saint, in accordance with the command laid upon him by the apostolic bishop, addressed with spiritual words the elders of the church and the chiefs of the whole people, and summoned them to the true way of knowledge and the light of understanding, which before, seduced by perverse teachers, they had for the most part lost. But the priests and elders — of whom some devoted themselves to the pious worship of almighty God, while others,[2] contaminated and polluted by unchastity, had lost the chaste continence which those who serve the sacred altars ought to keep — he corrected, warned, and taught to the best of his ability by the preaching of the gospel, turning them from the perverseness of malice to the rectitude of the canonical constitution.

Next he entered Francia in company with the brethren. Being informed of the death of Radbod,[3] king of the Frisians, he rejoiced with great joy,[4] and, desiring that Frisia also might receive the word of God,

[1] I Thessalonians, v, 21.

[2] Married priests.

[3] In 719.

[4] So Bugga wrote to Boniface with reference to Radbod's death, "I return thanks without ceasing to almighty God, because . . . he hath cast down before thee Radbod, the enemy of the Catholic church." *E.*, 15.

immediately went up the river [1] by ship, and reached lands uncultivated by the heavenly preaching. And now that fierce King Radbod's persecution was at an end, the saint provided the seed of the celestial doctrine, and, satisfying the hunger for the word of God, refreshed the multitude, famished by pagan superstition, with the food of the preaching of eternity. And when speedily the spontaneous accomplishment of the work followed his heart's desire, and the longed for light of the predestined doctrine began to shine by the ordinance of the Lord God, and the sovereignty of glorious Duke Charles over the Frisians was strengthened, now the war trumpet of the heavenly word sounded, and the voice of the preachers thundered with the coming of heaven's fertilizing dew, while the word of God was propagated by the venerable Willibrord [2] and his fellow workers. But because he saw that the harvest truly was plenteous, but the laborers were few,[3] our holy servant of God also became a fellow worker of Archbishop Willibrord for three years uninterruptedly,[4] and, laboring much in Christ,[5] destroyed temples and sanctuaries and built churches and oratories; and, helped by Willibrord, brought no small people unto the Lord.

But when Archbishop Willibrord had grown old and was burdened with the weight of many years, he determined, partly at the suggestion of the company of dis-

[1] The Rhine. The voyage must have been rather down the river.
[2] Born in 657–58.
[3] Matthew, ix, 37.
[4] 719–22.
[5] Romans, xvi, 12.

ciples, to provide for his decrepit old age a relief in his great ministry, and to choose a faithful man from the small congregation who would be able to rule so great a folk. Having summoned our servant of God, he urged him, with wholesome instruction, to undertake the episcopal command and rank, and to assist him to rule God's people. The saint in his humility hastily refused, answering that he was not worthy of the rank of bishop; and prayed that so great and high a dignity might not be imposed upon him while he was still reckoned a youth in years; and averred that he had not yet attained the age of fifty years required by the standard of the canon law:[1] in order that by every denial and excuse he might utterly avoid this exalted rank. Therefore Archbishop Willibrord of holy fame reproved him with mild words, diligently urging him to accept the proffered rank, and particularly premising the extreme indigence of the subject folk. But when not even Willibrord's reproof moved the saint to consent to undertake this exalted rank, then through long delays and evasions a spiritual strife arose between them, and there was a harmonious discord of glorious dispute. The saint, on the one hand, prevented from accepting by his sublime humility, refused the highly honorable rank; Willibrord, on the other, ensnared by his passionate longing for most pious gain, coveted the salvation of souls. After they had thus alternately advanced opposing arguments, our holy

[1] Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, ii, 2; and other passages cited by Levison in his note.

servant of God, as if set in a kind of spiritual race,[1] brought forward a wholly acceptable excuse, saying:

"Most holy bishop! Pilot of the struggle of the spirit![2] I brought to the nations of Germany the charge of blessed Pope Gregory of holy memory.[3] I, ambassador of the apostolic see to the western lands of the barbarians, voluntarily attached myself to thy lordship and governance; and I did this from the choice of my own free will, without the knowledge of my sublime masters, to whose service I am bound and subject by my vow even unto this day. Wherefore without the decree of the apostolic see, and without its commission and authentic command, I dare not undertake a rank so distinguished and sublime."

Moreover, he added a reasonable prayer and request, saying: "I beseech therefore, that thou elect to send me, who am bound by the fetters of my own solemn promise, back to these lands to which at first I was sent by the apostolic see."

Willibrord, the man of God, when he learned the occasion of the saint's great promise, bestowed upon him a benediction, and immediately gave him liberty to go away. The saint, departing straightway,[4]

[1] I Corinthians, ix, 24.

[2] I Corinthians, ix, 25; II Timothy, ii, 5; iv, 7, 8; Saint Augustine, *De Agone Christiano.*

[3] The mediaeval practice permitted the use of this phrase as a term of honor for the living as well as for the dead. G. D. Hofmann, *Vermischte Beobachtungen aus der deutschen Staatsgeschichte und Rechten* (Ulm, 1760–64), ii, p. 67.

[4] Probably to this journey may be assigned the beginning of the discipleship of the noble Frankish youth Gregory. Liudger, *Vita*

reached a place named Amanaburch:[1] in the language of the apostle, " nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine, whereunto " he " attained."[2]

Gregorii Abbatis, 2, in *M. G. H.*, Scriptores, xv, 1, pp. 67 f. The story is finely paraphrased by Selwyn in his poem, pp. 13–15.

[1] Amöneburg in Hesse-Nassau, on the river Ohm (Amona): about seven miles east of Marburg.

[2] I Timothy, iv, 6.

CHAPTER VI

We have narrated briefly, proceeding from the beginning step by step, the proofs of our saint's virtue, and the perseverance of his labor in the Lord: that we may recall to memory more minutely and in mass the succeeding examples of his excellence.

When he had brought unto the Lord a vast people among the Frisians, and many, educated by him in spiritual learning, had come to knowledge of the truth in the beaming rays of the true light; then indeed, protected by the Lord, he went to other parts of Germany for the sake of preaching, and, with the Lord's help, came to Amanaburch. There twin brothers ruled, Dettic namely and Deorulf. The saint summoned them from the sacrilegious worship of idols, which they wrongfully practised under a kind of name of Christianity; and withdrew a very great multitude of people from the malevolent superstition of heathenism, having disclosed to them the way of right understanding, and caused them to put aside their horrible errors; and, having gathered a congregation of God's servants, built a cell for a monastery. And in like wise, near to the borders of the Saxons, by preaching the gospel injunctions he set free from the captivity of devils the people of the Hessians, who yet wandered in pagan rites.

When he had cleansed many thousand people from their inveterate paganism and given them baptism, he directed to Rome a fit messenger, a faithful bearer of his letter, Bynna by name; and by the service of the voiceless word disclosed in order to the venerable father, the bishop of the apostolic see, all the things which by God's gift had been brought to pass in him; and showed how a great multitude of people, illuminated by the divine spirit, had received the sacrament of regeneration. But also, writing further, he asked concerning things which pertained to the daily need of the church of God and the progress of the people: that he might obtain the counsel of the apostolic see. When Bynna the messenger had remained at Rome for some days, and the time of his return was already at hand, he received in exchange from the bishop of the apostolic see an answer to his embassy. And immediately returning, he now brought to his master, after the passage of no long time, a letter written by the apostolic see.

When the saint had read the letter that was brought, he gathered that he was invited to Rome, and sought in haste to fulfil the highest degree of obedience. Without delay, attended by a throng of clients and surrounded by a train of the brethren, he traversed the lands of the Franks and the Burgundians, and, having surmounted the ridges of the Alps, the territories of the marches of Italy[1] and the boundaries of the soldiers.[2] And when he beheld the walls of the Roman city,

[1] See above, p. 51, n. 3. [2] See p. 49, n. 3.

quickly he returned deserved praise and thanks to God on high; and presently, reaching the church of Saint Peter, he fortified himself by diligent prayer. But when he had rested his wearied limbs for a little time, it was announced to the blessed Gregory, bishop of the apostolic see, that our servant of God had arrived. And he was received kindly and conducted to the pilgrims' lodge.

When a suitable day for their conference arrived, and the glorious bishop of the apostolic see came to the church of Saint Peter the apostle, immediately our servant of God was summoned. After they had exchanged a few peaceful words of salutation, the apostolic bishop questioned him concerning the creed and the tradition of the faith of the church. Anon our man of God answered him humbly, saying: "Apostolic lord! I, stranger as I am, know that I have no skill in your familiar language; but I beg that thou grant me leisure and time to write down my confession of faith, and that only the voiceless word may make a reasonable presentation of my faith." The bishop at once consented, and commanded him to bring this writing speedily. And after some space of time had glided away, the saint brought his confession of faith in the Holy Trinity, written down in polished, eloquent, and learned language, and rendered it to the aforesaid bishop. Nevertheless he waited yet some days.

At last he was summoned again. Having been conducted within the Lateran, immediately he cast himself humbly prostrate on his face at the feet of the

apostolic bishop, beseeching his benediction: who quickly raised him from the ground, and returned to our servant of God the writing in which the sound and incorrupt truth of faith was manifest, and made him sit by his side. And he instructed him, with wholesome teaching and admonition, to preserve ceaselessly inviolate this bulwark of faith, and to preach it earnestly unto others to the limit of his strength. And he brought forward many other matters relating to the holy religion and the true faith and questioned the saint concerning them, so that they spent almost the whole day in mutual conversation. And at last the pope inquired how the peoples who before had wandered in error and crime received the lessons of the faith through his teaching. And when he had learned for a certainty that the saint had admitted an exceeding great multitude of the commonalty from the sacrilegious worship of devils to the fellowship of the holy church, he intimated to him that he had purposed to impose upon him the office of bishop, and to set him over the peoples that before had lacked a shepherd's care, and in the words of the Lord our God, fainted, as sheep having no shepherd.[1] But the saint, because he dared not contradict this great bishop set over the apostolic see, consented and obeyed. And so the most high bishop of holy authority appointed a day of ordination, namely the thirtieth of November.[2]

After the sacred day of the holy solemnity had dawned, being the natal day of Saint Andrew and the

[1] Matthew, ix, 36. [2] 722.

day set for the ordination, the holy bishop of the apostolic see imposed upon the saint the dignity of the episcopacy and of the name Boniface; [1] and brought him the book in which the most sacred laws of the constitution of the church have been compiled at the assemblies of the bishops; [2] commanding, that thenceforth this order of episcopal discipline and customs should remain unshaken in his hands,[3] and that the

[1] An error, as is shown by the occurrence of the name in several letters written between 719 and 722. *E.*, 12, 14, 15. Probably Gregory conferred the Latin name upon Winfrid on the occasion of his first visit to Rome in 719.

[2] That is, a manual of the canon law: very probably that of Dionysius. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i, p. 406.

[3] The ordination oath of Boniface is preserved. *E.*, 16. "I, Boniface, bishop by the grace of God, promise thee, Saint Peter prince of the apostles, and thy vicar, blessed Pope Gregory, and his successors, by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Trinity inseparable, and by this thy most sacred body, to exhibit all faith and purity of the holy Catholic faith, and, with God's aid, to abide in the unity of the same faith, in which assuredly all the salvation of Christians is attested; in no wise at any one's persuasion to enter into agreement against the unity of the common and universal church; but, as I have said, to exhibit in all matters my faith and purity and union to thee and to the profit of thy church, to which the Lord God hath given power to bind and loose, and to thy vicar aforesaid and his successors; and also I promise that if I shall have knowledge of bishops living contrary to the ancient institutions of the holy fathers, I will have no communion or intercourse with them. Nay more, if I shall have power to forbid them, I will forbid; if not, I will straightway make faithful report to my apostolic lord. But if, as I pray may not be the case, I shall attempt in any wise or spirit or on any occasion to do anything contrary to the tenor of this my promise, may I be condemned at the eternal judgment, and incur the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, who presumed to practise deceit and to lie unto thee even concerning their own property."

subject peoples should be instructed by these examples. But also he gave to him and to all subject to him the friendship of the holy apostolic see thenceforth forever.[1] And by his most sacred letter he placed our saint, now a bishop, under the protection and pious care of the sovereignty of glorious Duke Charles.[2]

After Boniface by long and devious ways had visited the territories of great peoples, he came to the aforesaid prince of the Franks, and was received by him with veneration. He delivered to Duke Charles the letters of the abovementioned Roman bishop and of the apostolic see, and, subject to his lordship and patronage,[3] returned, with the consent of Duke Charles, to the land of the Hessians where before he had tarried.

Now at that time many of the Hessians, brought under the Catholic faith and confirmed by the grace of the sevenfold spirit,[4] received the laying on of hands;

This is in substance the oath taken by the Italian bishops of the time who were immediately subject to the see of Rome (*episcopi suburbicarii*), except for the omission of the promise of allegiance to the Empire and Emperor.

[1] This special relationship of friendship or brotherhood between the Roman see on the one hand, and Boniface and his household on the other, was renewed at the accession of Gregory III in 731. See p. 67, below. Mention of it is also made of it by Boniface, *E.*, 86, 108, in letters to Zacharias and Stephen III.

[2] *E.*, 20. There also remain general letters of commendation given by Gregory to Boniface under date of 1 December 722, addressed *Universis Christianis* and *Clero, ordini, et plebi*; another *Thuringis Christianis* which doubtless pertains to this time, and another *Universo populo provinciae Altsaxonum* which may so belong. *Ibid.*, 17–19, 21.

[3] The letter of protection issued by Charles is *E.*, 22.

[4] Isaiah, xi, 2; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, vii, 3; Saint

others indeed, not yet strengthened in soul, refused to accept in their entirety the lessons of the inviolate faith. Moreover some were wont secretly, some openly to sacrifice to trees and springs; some in secret, others openly practised inspections of victims and divinations, legerdemain and incantations; some turned their attention to auguries and auspices and various sacrificial rites;[1] while others, with sounder minds, abandoned all the profanations of heathenism, and committed none of these things. With the advice and counsel of these last, the saint attempted, in the place called Gaesmere,[2] while the servants of God stood by his side, to fell[3] a certain oak of extraordinary size, which is called, by an old name of the pagans, the Oak of Jupiter.[4] And when in the strength of his steadfast heart he had cut the lower notch,[5] there was present a great multitude of pagans,[6] who in their souls were most earnestly cursing the enemy of their gods. But

Augustine, *De Sermone Domini*, i, 4; J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, i, 1 (3d ed., by Engelbert Mühlbacher, Innsbruck, 1899), p. 38, no. 76a.

[1] *E.*, 43.

[2] The location is uncertain. There are in Hesse several places named Geismar.

[3] *Succidere.*

[4] The Latin rendering of the Teutonic Thor.

[5] *Cum arborem succidisset.* Of the first or lower notch, cut to the centre of the tree from the side toward which it was intended that the tree should fall.

[6] As Otloh puts it, "Ad . . . arboris incisionem magna paganorum multitudo concurrit": assembled no doubt from the farms and villages for miles around, while the axe was making its slow progress through the tough wood.

when the fore side of the tree was notched only a little,[1] suddenly the oak's vast bulk, driven by a divine blast from above, crashed to the ground, shivering its crown of branches as it fell; and, as if by the gracious dispensation of the Most High, it was also burst into four parts, and four trunks of huge size, equal in length, were seen, unwrought by the brethren who stood by. At this sight the pagans who before had cursed now, on the contrary, believed, and blessed the Lord, and put away their former reviling. Then moreover the most holy bishop, after taking counsel with the brethren, built from the timber of the tree a wooden oratory, and dedicated it in honor of Saint Peter the apostle.

When by the favor of God's will all that we have told was fulfilled and accomplished, the saint went on to Thuringia. And he addressed the elders of the

[1] *Ad modicum quidem arbore praeciso.* Of the second, upper, or fore notch, on the side which axeman and spectators faced as the tree fell in the opposite direction.

This passage has been an inveterate stumbling-block to interpreters. From Otloh to Arndt, all have given renderings equally unsatisfactory, perhaps because they lacked the practical acquaintance with the woodman's craft which we may assume in Boniface and Willibald as Saxons of the eighth century. If we take *succidisset* and *praeciso* as technical terms of woodcraft, as I have done, and if we suppose that the oak was to some extent hollow, Willibald's account becomes in all important respects consistent and credible.

It may be objected to this interpretation, that it requires us to take *succidisset* as used in a different sense from *succidere* in the preceding sentence. This does not seem a serious objection: Otloh, Bonnell, Külb, and Arndt, to name no others, have recognized the existence of the difference, though none of them has chanced to hit upon the same rendering for *succidisset.*

church and the chiefs of the people, and summoned them to forsake their blind ignorance and to return to the Christian religion which they had before accepted. For the sovereignty of their kings[1] came to an end; and under the perilous leadership of Theotbald and Heden, whose disastrous and dangerous sway over them rested rather on tyranny and devastation than on loyalty, a great number of their counts were visited with bodily death by the two tyrants, or captured and carried off by the enemy, and were so greatly straitened by evils of various sorts that the remaining remnant of the people had submitted to the dominion of the Saxons. And when the sovereignty of the religious dukes ceased, there ceased also in the land attention to Christianity and religion, and false brethren, seducing the people, were brought in: who under the name of religion introduced a large and perverse heretical sect. Of whom are Torchtwine and Berehthere, Eanbercht and Hunraed, whoremongers and adulterers,[2] whom, in the words of the apostle, God hath judged:[3] who stirred up a most vehement conflict against the man of God; but, opposed and confuted by the words of truth, they received a just judgment of recompense.

When the renewed splendor of faith had dawned among the people, and the church was snatched from the great snare of error; while the friends of the profane enemy and the abovementioned dangerous seducers of the people were now banished: the saint

[1] More properly dukes, as they are called in the following sentence.
[2] Married clergy. [3] Hebrews, xiii, 4.

entered upon a harvest truly plenteous, yet with few reapers.[1] And at first he endured great want of this world's goods, and frugal living; and, though straitened and distressed by great indigence, scattered the seed of the word of God.[2] But when little by little the multitude of the believers increased, and the roll of the preachers too was multiplied, then also churches were quickly restored, and the preaching of his doctrines was diffused in many ways; and the united servants of God and the most holy monks were gathered together, and a monastery was built in the place which is called Orthorpf.[3] These procured food and raiment for themselves by laboring assiduously with their own hands after the manner of the apostle.[4]

The report of his holy preaching was so spread abroad, and increased to such a degree, that already his fame resounded through the greatest part of Europe. And from the parts of Britain an exceedingly great multitude of the congregation of the servants of God had come unto him: readers, and writers also, and men learned in other arts. Of these a very great number put themselves under the instruction of his rule, and in very many places summoned the people

[1] Matthew, ix, 37.

[2] Liudger (*Vita Gregorii*, 2) refers to this period: "they were obliged to live by the work of their hands, and sometimes in fear of death to flee with their people to the city from the persecution of the pagans; and there to dwell straitened by hunger for many days, until the citizens gathered their forces and again drove back the pagans with the strong hand."

[3] Ohrdruf, near Gotha.

[4] I Corinthians, iv, 12.

from the profane error of heathenism. And some in the province of the Hessians, and others in Thuringia, widely dispersed among the people, preached the word of God to the country districts and villages.

A prodigious multitude both of the Hessians and of the Thuringians received the sacraments of the faith, and many thousand people were baptized. And when now Gregory the Second of blessed memory, pope of the apostolic see, was deceased,[1] and glorious Gregory the Younger [2] ruled the chair of the apostolic summit of the aforesaid see, again the saint's messengers came to Rome and addressed the holy bishop of the apostolic see, and showed to him the former alliance of friendship which his predecessor mercifully conferred upon Saint Boniface and his household. But also they assured him of the saint's devoted and humble submission to the apostolic see for the future; and, in accordance with their instructions, they prayed that thenceforth he might in devout submission share in the brotherhood and communion of the sacred bishop and of the whole apostolic see. Then straightway the holy pope of the apostolic see offered a conciliatory reply, and granted communion of brotherhood and friendship with himself and the apostolic see to Saint Boniface and to those subject to him. And he gave the ambassadors an archbishop's pall,[3] and sent them home honorably with gifts and divers relics of saints.

The messengers on their arrival recited to Boniface the voluntary replies of the man apostolic. He now

[1] 11 February 731. [2] Gregory III (731–741). [3] *E.*, 28.

rejoiced greatly, and, being exceedingly strengthened by the devoted support of the apostolic see, and inspired by the aid of the divine mercy, built two churches to the Lord. One was in Frideslare,[1] which he consecrated in honor of Saint Peter chief of the apostles. The second was in Hamanaburch;[2] this he dedicated in honor of Saint Michael the archangel. Moreover he attached two small monasteries to the churches, and added to these no small company of the servants of God, so that unto this day glory and blessing and thanksgivings are devoutly offered to the Lord God.

When all this was duly accomplished, he went to the lands of the Bavarians, where then Duke Hugobert[3] reigned, and employed among them most assiduously his ardor for preaching, and went around to many churches and inspected them. And he was armed with so great zeal of divine fortitude, that truly he condemned and cast out, in accordance with the decrees of the canons, a certain schismatic beguiled by heretical depravity, Eremvulf by name, and amended the people from the perverse idolatry of his sect. And he departed, and returned to the brethren who were established under the diocese of his governance: having, according to the word of the apostle, a desire to come unto the brethren.[4]

[1] Fritzlar.
[2] The same as Amanaburch, above.
[3] Died not later than the beginning of 736.
[4] Romans, xv, 23.

CHAPTER VII

How he expelled the Heretics from the Province of the Bavarians, and divided it into Four Parishes

We have occupied some time with selected examples of the merits of Saint Boniface, in order that we may set forth, briefly indeed, the strong direction of religion by which he guided himself unceasingly through all periods of his life. For in truth among saints it is a practice of long standing, that they improve themselves daily through the examples of others, and that the strength of love in their hearts increases with the decrease of the reckoning of their days.

When no small number of churches had been built among the Hessians and in Thuringia, and a warden had been provided for each church, then, accompanied by a band of the disciples, he came for the third time to Rome, on account of the brotherly communion of the sacred apostolic bishop and of the whole clergy: that he might enjoy the salutary conversation of the apostolic father, and, being now advanced in age, commend himself to the prayers of the saints. But when after the immensely long journey he was presented to the lord apostolic, Gregory the Younger the Second, he was kindly received by the pope, and was held in such great veneration by everyone, as well Romans as

strangers, that many flocked together unto his wholesome teaching. For of Franks and Bavarians, and also of Saxons arriving from Britain, and of other provinces, a prodigious multitude clave sedulously unto his admonition. And when he had tarried in these regions for a great part of a year,[1] and had made the round of the relics of the saints, praying as he went; then indeed, having again saluted the venerable bishop of the apostolic see, he returned home, honored and enriched with gifts and saints' relics. Coming to Italy, he entered the walls of the city Ticena,[2] and, as his limbs were already weary from old age, rested with Liutprand, the honorable king of the Lombards.

Departing from Italy, he visited the Bavarians,[3] not only because of the invitation of Odilo their duke, but also of his own desire, and remained among them many days, preaching the gospel of the word of God. He renewed the sacraments of the true faith and of religion, and drove away the destroyers of churches and perverters of the people. Of these some formerly falsely preferred themselves to the rank of the episcopacy; some assigned themselves to the priestly office; some by these inventions and innumerable others misled a great part of the people. But the saint, already dedicated to God from infancy, and not enduring the insult to his Lord, restrained Duke Odilo and the whole multitude from the unjust heretical false sect and from the lewd deception of the priests.[4] And with

[1] About 738. [2] Pavia. [3] In 739.

[4] The relation of Boniface to the work of the earlier Celtic mis-

the consent of Duke Odilo he divided the province of the Bavarians into four parishes, and to rule them made four bishops, whom he ordained and raised to the episcopal rank. Of these the first, John by name, assumed the episcopal chair of the church in the town which is called Salzburch.[1] The second was Erembert, who ruled as chief watchman the church at Freising. The third, Gaibald, was shepherd and guard of the church in the city of Regina.[2] And when all things were duly performed, and the Christian order was established, and the canon laws were restored among the Bavarians, then he returned home to his own churches. And he governed the people committed to his care, and watched the folds of the flocks, and provided sentinels for the church; and so delivered the sheep from the jaws of impious wolves.[3]

When the temporal kingdom of glorious Duke Charles was finished,[4] and the sovereignty of his sons Carloman and Pippin waxed strong, then indeed, by the help of the Lord God and at the suggestion of Saint

sionaries in Germany is discussed in detail by August Ebrard in his essays, *Die iroschottische Missionskirche des sechsten, siebenten, und achten Jahrhunderts, und ihre Verbreitung und Bedeutung auf dem Festland* (Gütersloh, 1873), and *Bonifatius, der Zerstörer des columbanischen Kirchentums auf dem Festlande* (Gütersloh, 1882).

[1] Salzburg.

[2] Ratisbon (Regensburg). — The three complete the tale of bishops ordained by Boniface at this time. The fourth bishop, Vivilo of Passau, had been already ordained by Gregory III, as is expressly stated in Gregory's letter of 29 October 739, confirming the establishment of the bishoprics. *E.*, 45.

[3] John, x, 12.

[4] Charles Martel died in October, 741.

Boniface the archbishop, the testament of the Christian religion was confirmed, and the synodal institutions of the orthodox fathers were established in proper form among the Franks, and all was amended and cleansed by the authority of the canons. The wrongful connection of laymen with concubines was in part severed at the exhortation of the saint;[1] while the impious union of clergymen with wives was disjoined and put away.[2] And through the teaching of Saint Boniface such great ardor of divine love was kindled in Carloman and Pippin, that to a large extent they freed the church from the perverse worship to which it had been long accustomed: wherein it had lost the right of eternal inheritance,[3] being involved of its own will, and deceived by the suggestion of heretics. For to such a degree had the sect of heretics choked the light of spiritual doctrine among the people, that the dark fog of heretical deception had covered a very great part of the church. Two of the heretics, for example, Aldebert and Clemens,[4] led astray by profane greed of

[1] *Capitulare Suessionense*, 2 March 744, 4: in *M.G.H.*, Capitularia, i, p. 29.

[2] Levison quotes *Capitulare Suessionense*, 3, 8; also *Karlmanni Capitulare*, 21 April 742, 1, 6, 7, on pp. 25 f., or in the *Epistolae*, 56. In all these cases, however, the wording is ambiguous — perhaps purposely so.

[3] Hebrews, ix, 15.

[4] Aldebert, a Gallic pseudo-saint, is an interesting figure, of whom one would like to know more than is contained in the scanty and partial notices that have survived. He would appear to have been a prophet and visionary somewhat of the type of the late Joseph Smith. Clemens, a stubborn Bible Scot, or Irishman, professed a supreme dis-

money,[1] assiduously turned the people from the way of truth. But when Saint Boniface the archbishop, with the consent of Carloman and Pippin, glorious dukes, expelled them from the unity of the church, they were, in the words of the apostle, delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.[2]

regard for the views of the holy fathers Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory, and sought rather to shape his conduct by the precepts of the Book of Deuteronomy. *E.*, 57, 59, 60, 62, 77; *Capitulare Suessionense*, 2 March 744, 2, 7.

[1] "Quod crimen iisdem ab ipso Bonifatio minime obiectum est." Levison.

[2] I Corinthians, v, 5; *E.*, 59.

CHAPTER VIII

How through his Whole Life he preached zealously; and with what End he left this World

Four synodal councils were held,[1] where there gathered together bishops and priests, deacons and clerics, and all ecclesiastical ranks, whom Duke Carloman of illustrious memory caused to be summoned under the sovereignty of his kingdom. At these, Boniface, archbishop; ruler of the bishopric of the city of Magontia by the consent and gift of Carloman himself; legate of the Roman church and of the apostolic see, sent first by the holy and venerable bishop of that see, Gregory the Younger, or the Second, to count from the First; then by the honorable Gregory who was the Younger, counting from the Second, or the Third, to count from the First; Boniface, I say, urged that numerous canons and ordinances of the four principal early councils be preserved for the wholesome increase of the heavenly doctrine: in order[2] that, as in the Nicene council,[3] when Constantine Augustus administered the empire of the world, the falsehood of the Arian blasphemy was overthrown; as the assembly of a hundred and fifty fathers,

[1] 742–747.

[2] Willibald condenses the succeeding summary of the four principal councils from Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, vi, 16.

[3] In 325.

when Theodosius the Elder ruled Constantinople,[1] condemned one Macedonius, who denied that the Holy Spirit is God; as the union of two hundred bishops, assembled at the city of Ephesus[2] under Theodosius the Younger, separated from the Catholic church, with a righteous curse of excommunication, Nestorius, who declared that there are two persons in Christ; and as the council of Chalcedon,[3] an assembly of six hundred and thirty priests, in accordance with the predetermined decision of the fathers bestowed the curse of excommunication upon Eutyches, abbot of the city of Constantinople, and Dioscurus his champion, rebels against the citadel of the Catholic faith: so indeed in Francia, when all the falsehood of the heretics was utterly rooted out and the conspiracy of the wicked destroyed, the power of the divine law might be increased; the synodal canons of the general councils might be received; while at the same time a synodal assembly of bishops of spiritual understanding might meet in accordance with the predetermined prescription of the authentic constitution.

The constant expectation of war, and the hostility and insurrections of the surrounding barbarian tribes, with the attendant attempts of alien robber nations without to destroy the Frankish realm by violence, had prevented the holding of synodal assemblies, or even had caused them to be so wholly forgotten that they were utterly obliterated from present memory and un-

[1] In 381.
[2] In 431.
[3] In 451.

known.[1] For it is the nature of the world, that even if it be recruited, it daily suffers damage and decrease within itself; while if it is not thoroughly renewed, it expends itself and vanishes away, and hurries breathlessly to its predestined end. Wherefore in the pilgrimage of this mortal life, if for healing spiritual leaders have ascertained any matters for the common profit of the weak in this world, even if at times these matters have been introduced into the minds of men, they ought to be preserved and most strongly defended by Catholics, and held with minds determined and immovable: lest human oblivion steal upon them, or the enticing delight of worldly enjoyment impede at the instigation of the devil. For this reason our holy bishop of the Lord, moved by sharpest anxiety in this regard, sought to deliver the folk from the baleful beguiling of the crooked serpent,[2] and very often urged Duke Carloman to assemble the synodal meeting: that both to men then living and to later generations the wisdom of spiritual learning might be disclosed and the knowledge of Christianity come, while the snaring of souls was averted.

After he placed a mirror (as it were) of canonical rectitude before all ranks for a pattern of right living, and the way of truth became clearly visible to all, Boniface, being old, weak, and decrepit, presented a

[1] Boniface wrote to Pope Zacharias, early in 742: "The old men say that the Franks have held no synod for more than eighty years, nor had an archbishop, nor established or renewed in any place the canon laws of the church." *E.*, 50.

[2] Isaiah, xxvii, 1.

plan wholesome for himself and his feebleness, and in accordance with the rule of ecclesiastical management provided a pastoral magistracy for the peoples: that, whether he lived or died, the folk might not lack pastors and their healing care. He promoted to the episcopal order [1] two men of good diligence, Willibald and Burchard, and divided unto them the churches committed to his charge in the innermost parts of the East Franks and the confines of the Bavarians. To Willibald he entrusted the government of his diocese [2] in the place named Haegsted.[3] To Burchard he delegated rank and office [4] in the place called Wirzaburch,[5] and allotted to his province the churches in the borders of the Franks and Saxons and Slavs. And even unto the glorious day of his death he opened without ceasing the narrow way [6] of the heavenly kingdom unto the multitudes.

Pippin, fortunate successor of his brother Carloman,[7] by the grace of God received the royal kingdom of the Franks, and there being now a slight lull in the disorder of the peoples,[8] was raised to the rank of king.[9]

[1] In 741.

[2] *Vita Willibaldi*, 5, in *M.G.H.*, Scriptores, xv, 1, p. 105.

[3] Eichstätt.

[4] *E.*, 50, 51, 53.

[5] Würzburg.

[6] Matthew, vii, 14.

[7] Carloman abdicated in 747 and became a monk.

[8] 749–751.

[9] In November, 751. *Annales Regni Francorum* (Hannoverae, 1895: in *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*), pp. 8, 10: "Pippin was chosen king according to the custom of the Franks, and anointed by the hand of Archbishop Boniface of holy memory, and was proclaimed king by the Franks in the city of Soissons." Rettberg rejects the

Then he began solicitously to fulfil the vows he had sworn unto the Lord, and to restore without delay the synodal ordinances, and to renew the canonical mysteries which his brother in accordance with the exhortation of Saint Boniface the archbishop had faithfully commenced, and to prefer Boniface in friendship and honor, and to obey his precepts in the Lord. But because the saint, oppressed by bodily weakness,[1] was not altogether able to attend the synodal assemblies, he now determined, with the approval and advice of the glorious king, to set a proper minister over his flock. He appointed Lul, his able disciple,[2] to teach the multitude of the great church, and advanced and ordained him to the episcopal rank, and committed to him the inheritance which he had won in Christ by earnest labor. Lul was the trusty comrade in the Lord of his pilgrimage, and was witness both of the suffering and of the consolation.[3]

Now when the Lord wished to deliver his servant from the temptation of this world and to raise him up from the tribulations of the temporal life, then it was determined by the ordinance of the Lord, that, accompanied by the servants of God, he should come to Frisia, which aforetime he had left in body, not in mind: in order that where first he entered upon his active preaching and his profits and rewards began,

anointing of Pippin by Boniface, and supports his position by a careful analysis of the Frankish chronicles. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i, pp. 383–391. Hauck, on the other hand, accepts the story. *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i (2d ed.) p. 561.

[1] *E.*, 93. [2] *Ibid.* [3] II Corinthians, i, 7.

there also, leaving the world, he might receive the charge of recompense.

He foretold the coming day of his death to Bishop Lul by a marvellous and in a way prophetic forecast, and made known to him with what end he was at last to leave the world, and set before him in order his plans for the building of churches and the teaching of the people. "I desire," said he, "to fulfil the journey set before me. I shall not be able to call myself back from the welcome departing journey. For now the day of my departure is at hand,[1] and the time of my death approaches; now I shall put aside the prison of the body, and return to the prize of the eternal recompense. But do thou, dearest son, conduct to completion the building of churches which I have commenced in Thuringia. Do thou most earnestly recall the people from the trackless waste of error. And do thou complete the construction of the basilica already begun at Fulda,[2] and bring thither my body aged by many hastening years." [3] And having made an end of this discourse, he added to it more words of the following sort, saying: "Son, provide by thy most prudent counsel everything which must be joined to our use in this our journey; but also lay in the chest of my books a linen cloth, wherein my decrepit body may be wrapped."

[1] II Timothy, iv, 6.

[2] See Gregor Richter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Grabeskirche des hl. Bonifatius in Fulda* in *Festgabe zum Bonifatius-Jubiläum 1905* (Fulda, 1905).

[3] *E.*, 86.

At this sad speech Bishop Lul could not restrain his sobs, but forthwith wept unrestrainedly. Then Saint Boniface made an end of the conversation and turned to other matters. He did not draw back from the journey which he had undertaken, but,[1] after a few days' interval, took travelling companions and went on board ship, and pushed down the Rhine,[2] seeking haven at night time, until he entered the moist fields of the Frisians, and passed in safety across the lake which in their tongue is called Aelmere,[3] and made a round of inspection along shores barren of the divine seed.[4] And after escaping peril and hazard of rivers and the sea and of the great waters, he went safely into danger, and visited the pagan nation of the Frisians, whose land is divided by the intervening waters into many territories and districts, yet in such wise that the different names indicate the property of a single nation. But since it would be tedious to repeat the districts in order, we desire to mention by name only those which are veraciously cited to afford connection to our narrative: that place and language may equally transmit our story of the saint's piety, and disclose the end with which he left this world.

So he traversed all Frisia, and removed the pagan worship and overthrew the erroneous way of heathen-

[1] At this point the punctuation of the older texts is preferable to that of Jaffé and Levison, who begin their new paragraph in the middle of a sentence.

[2] This voyage must be placed in the summer — probably the early summer — either of 753 or of 754.

[3] Aelmere, 'the Noble Sea'; now the Zuyder Zee.

[4] Matthew, xiii; Luke, viii, 11.

ism, and earnestly preached the word of God; and, having destroyed the divinity of the heathen temples, he built churches with great zeal. And now he baptized many thousand persons, men and women and little ones, being aided by his fellow soldier and suffragan bishop Eoba, whom he summoned to Frisia to aid the feebleness of his old age, charging him with the bishopric in the city which is called Trecht; and by priests and deacons, of whom these are the names: Wintrung and Walthere and Ethelhere, endowed with the sacerdotal office of the priesthood; Hamund, Scirbald, and Bosa, assigned to the service of Levites; Wacchar and Gundaecer, Illehere and Hathovulf, raised to the conventual order of monks. These with Saint Boniface published widely through the people the seed of eternal life,[1] and, supported by the Lord God, made it known to such an extent, that even as in accordance with the pattern of the apostolic custom they were of one heart and one soul,[2] so they had one and the same martyr's crown, one and the same reward of victory.

After the splendor of faith of which we have spoken dawned through Frisia, and the happy end of our saint's life approached,[3] then, accompanied only by a

[1] Luke, viii, 11: "The seed is the word of God."

[2] Acts, iv, 32.

[3] According to Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, 15a (in *M.G.H.*, Scriptores, ii, p. 372), this was in the second summer of the Frisian ministry, after an intervening winter in Germany. "In the tenth year after he removed to the holy place [Fulda], the holy Archbishop Boniface, having taken counsel with the king and other Christians, went to the farther places

number of his personal followers, he pitched his tents by the bank of the river which is called Bordne,[1] which is upon the limits of the districts which in the country tongue are called Ostor- and Westeraeche. But because he had appointed unto the people, already scattered far and wide, a holiday of confirmation of the neophytes, and of the laying on of hands by the bishop upon the newly baptized and of their confirmation, every man went unto his own house,[2] that in accordance with the precise command of the holy bishop all might be presented together on the day set for their confirmation.

Wholly opposite was the event. When the appointed day had dawned, and the morning light was breaking after the rising of the sun, then came enemies instead of friends, new lictors instead of new worshippers of the faith; and a vast multitude of foes, armed with spears and shields, rushed with glittering[3] weapons

of the Frisians, which were addicted to the pagan worship, and there by teaching and baptizing brought a vast multitude of people unto the Lord. Thence after a long time departing, he came in safety to his own churches in Germany. But in the following year he came again to the moist fields of the Frisians; for he desired to complete the work of preaching which he had begun."

[1] The Boorn, in the Dutch province of Friesland.

[2] John, vii, 53.

[3] *Bibrantibus*: wrongly rendered as passive (*mit geschwungenen Waffen*) by Bonnell, Külb, and Arndt; as indicating sound (*mit Waffengetön*) by Simson, who is led astray by the will-o'-the-wisp authority of Otloh's paraphrase. I take it that the idea meant to be conveyed is that of the play of light upon swiftly moving steel, as in Scott's story of the attack on the smugglers in *Guy Mannering*: "The press became furiously agitated, while some endeavored to defend

into the camp. Then hastily the attendants sprang forth against them from the camp, and betook themselves to arms on either side, and were eager to defend against the crazy host of the mad folk the sainted martyrs that were to be. But when the man of God heard the onset of the tumultuous throng, immediately he called to his side the band of clerics,[1] and, taking the saints' relics which he was wont to have always with him, came out of the tent. And at once, rebuking the attendants, he forbade combat and battle, saying: "Stop fighting, lads! Give up the battle! For we are taught by the trusty witness of Scripture, that we render not evil for evil,[2] but contrariwise good for evil.[3] Already the long desired day is at hand, and the voluntary time of our departure is near.[4] Therefore be ye comforted in the Lord, and suffer with joy the grace of his permission. Trust on

themselves, others to escape; shots were fired, and the glittering broadswords began to appear flashing above the heads of the rioters."

Unequivocal instances of the reference of *vibrare* to the play of light are Cicero, *Academica Priora*, 33 (in a discussion of the colors of the sea): "Mare . . . nunc, qua a sole collucet, albescit et vibrat"; Silius Italicus, *Punica*, iv, v. 156:

"Colla viri fulvo radiabant lactea torque,
Auro virgatae vestes; manicaeque rigebant
Ex auro; et simili vibrabat crista metallo."

[1] "Moreover there suffered with him fifty religious men of his clergy, priests, deacons, and monks; but the better known among them were Eobanus the bishop and Adalharius the priest." *Martyrologium Fuldense*, in Levison, *Vitae*, p. 60.

[2] I Thessalonians, v, 15; Romans, xii, 17.

[3] I Peter, iii, 9; Matthew, v, 39–44.

[4] II Timothy, iv, 6.

him, and he will release your souls." But also with fatherly speech he incited those standing near, priests and deacons and men of lower rank, trained to God's service, saying: "Men and brethren, be of stout heart, and fear not them who kill the body, since they are not able to slay the soul,[1] which continues without end; but rejoice in the Lord, and fasten to God the anchor of your hope. For straightway he shall render you the reward of perpetual recompense, and shall give you an abode in his heavenly palace with the angels who dwell on high. Do not enslave yourselves to the empty pleasures of this world; be not seduced by the vain flatteries of the Gentiles; but endure firmly here the sudden moment of death, that ye may be able to reign with Christ for all time." While with such exhortation of doctrine he was kindly inciting the disciples to the crown of martyrdom, quickly the mad tumult of pagans rushed in upon them with swords and all the equipment of war, and stained the saints' bodies with propitious gore.

Having worked their will on the mortal flesh of the just, the exultant throng of heathens at once seized the spoils of victory, the fruit of their damnation, and, wasting the camp, shared and plundered the booty. But also they stole the chests, in which were many volumes of books, and the boxes of relics; and, believing themselves enriched by a great abundance of gold and silver, carried away the cases, locked as they were, to the ships. Now in the ships was the daily

[1] Matthew, x, 28.

sustenance of the clerics and attendants, and some wine still left of the same supply. And when they found the beloved drink, the heathens hastily commenced to sate their thirsty maws and to make their stomachs drunken with wine; and at length, through the wonderful direction of almighty God, they took counsel, and began to discuss concerning the booty and spoils that they had taken, and to deliberate how they might mutually share the gold or silver which they had not even seen. While they held wordy discussion over the riches they reckoned so great, again and again dispute and quarrels sprang up; and finally there began such enmity and discord, that insane frenzy divided the raging throng into two factions, and at last they turned the weapons, with which earlier they had murdered the holy martyrs, against each other in merciless strife.

After the most part of the raging throng had been laid low, the survivors ran rejoicing to the wealth gained by the loss of souls and life, while the rivals who opposed them respecting the passionately coveted treasure lay dead. Having broken open the boxes of books, they found volumes instead of gold, and for silver, leaves of divine learning. Thus deprived of the precious reward of gold and silver, they scattered over the meadow some of the books which they found; others they threw away, casting some into the reed thickets of the marshes, hiding the rest each in a different place. But by the grace of almighty God and through the prayers of Saint Boniface the archbishop

and martyr, the books were found a long time after, sound and unharmed, and returned by the several discoverers to the house [1] in which even unto this day they are of use for the salvation of souls.[2]

Sad at the loss of the wealth on which they had reckoned, the murderers returned home. After three days' respite, they experienced in their own possessions a greater loss, and also paid life for life in retribution. For the omnipotent Author and Reformer of the world wished to avenge himself on his enemies, and with the zeal of his wonted compassion to take revenge for the blood of saints shed for his sake.[3] Deeply moved by the recent act of mad wickedness, he wished to show openly his wrath, too long deferred, against the idola-

[1] Presumably the cathedral at Fulda.

[2] Three books, the so-called *codices Bonifatiani*, ascribed by tradition to this collection, are preserved in the Landesbibliothek at Fulda. Carl Scherer, *Die Codices Bonifatiani in der Landesbibliothek zu Fulda*, in *Festgabe zum Bonifatius-Jubiläum* (Fulda, 1905); W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 4–12. One of these, cut almost through by some sharp instrument, is traditionally identified with the book mentioned in the Life of Boniface attributed to Bishop Radbod of Utrecht (Levison, *Vitae*, p. 73): "As I was making inquiries concerning Boniface in the same region, on the chance that I might find some material for my work, I was told that a certain woman was yet living, though greatly enfeebled by age, who was wont to assert with an oath, that she was present when the soldier of Christ was beheaded, and to say, that when he was smitten by the sword he covered his head with a copy of the holy gospels: that beneath it he might receive the stroke of the assassin, and that he might have its defence in death, as he had loved its words in life."

[3] Revelation, xvi, 6; Psalms, lxxix, 10. Adam of Bremen uses the second of these references in a very similar connection. *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, i, 49.

ters. And as the unexpected tidings of the temporal slaughter of the sainted martyrs flew through the districts and villages and the whole province, and the Christians learned of the corporeal death of the martyrs, they at once collected a very large expeditionary force, and, being warriors prepared to take speedy vengeance, hurried to the boundary. After the lapse of the three days' period mentioned above, they entered the land of the infidels as unharmed but unfriendly guests, and overthrew with prodigious carnage the pagans who came up against them. The pagans were unable to withstand the first onset of the Christian folk, and consequently betook themselves to flight and were slaughtered in great numbers. Fleeing, they lost their lives and household goods and children. But the Christians took as spoil the wives and little ones [1] of the superstitious folk, their menservants also and maidservants, and returned to their own land. And it came to pass in wondrous wise, that the neighboring heathen that survived, shattered by present misfortune, were enlightened by the glory of faith and preferred to shun eternal torment; and, thoroughly terrified by the administration of the divine rebuke, accepted, upon the death of Bishop Boniface, the proof of his doctrine which they rejected while he lived.

With swelling sails and favorable breezes, the body of the sainted bishop, and also those of the other martyrs, were brought after not many days across

[1] Genesis, xxxiv, 29; Numbers, xxxi, 9.

the sea which is called Aelmere to the abovenamed city of Trecht. There they were deposited and interred,[1] until religious and faithful brethren in the Lord arrived from Magontia, sent by ship by Bishop Lul, the successor of our holy bishop and martyr of Christ, to bring the corpse of the saint to the monastery which he had built during his life, and which is situate on the banks of the river Fulda. Of these brethren there was one, Hadda by name, the promoter of the journey and organizer of the party, who led a life of singular sanctity and peculiar chastity and continence. To him especially, with the brethren who went with him, Bishop Lul entrusted the performance of this embassy and the bringing of the sacred body: that greater honor of devotion might be paid to the venerable saint, and that the witness of many might prevail more in those matters which they heard or saw.

When the honorable brethren of this holy company came to the city of Trecht, a small crowd of the people gathered to oppose them. When the crowd heard how an edict had been issued by glorious King Pippin, the count of the city proclaimed an interdict, and forbade that the body of Bishop Boniface should be removed thence. But the strength of the Almighty is stronger than men's strength. Wherefore immediately, in the presence of all, a marvellous and memorable miracle was heard, wrought through angelic rather than human understanding. The bell of the church, untouched by human hands, was rung, as a token of the admonition

[1] Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, 15a.

of the sacred body; so that all, smitten by sudden fear and terror, were stupefied, and trembled exceedingly, and cried out that the body of this righteous man must be given up. And so at once the body was yielded, and was honorably removed by the aforesaid brethren of sacred memory, and without labor of rowers [1] was brought on the thirtieth day after the saint's decease to the abovementioned city of Magontia.

The wonderful providence of almighty God brought it to pass, that on one and the same day, though the time had not been beforehand set and appointed, there assembled unto the funeral of this great man, as if the day had been set and predetermined, not only the ambassadors who brought the sacred body, but also many faithful men and women from distant and widely scattered countries. Moreover the saint's successor in his venerable office, Lul, bishop of the Lord, who at that time was present in the king's palace, came to the city of Magontia as it were at the same hour and moment, though he was altogether ignorant of the occasion, and knew not of the arrival of the sacred body.[2]

[1] "Per Rheni alveum navim trahere, et superiora petere coeperunt." *Vita Sturmi*, 15b.

[2] This passage is discussed at length by Michael Tangl in his essay "Das Todesjahr des Bonifatius," in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, Neue Folge, xxvii (Cassel, 1903), pp. 243 f. It appears to me, however, to weigh somewhat heavily against Tangl's contention (see below) that Boniface died in 754, not 755 as stated by Willibald. In the latter year Lul's presence at the palace at Verneuil near the end of June is probable, since King Pippin had assembled there a synod of "almost all the bishops of the Gauls." *M.G.H.*, Capitularia, i, pp. 32–37; Böhmer-Mühlbacher,

And all, strangers and citizens, were oppressed by sorrow and grief, yet rejoiced abundantly and were glad. For in viewing the temporal and bodily death of this great bishop, they grieved, on the one hand, for the loss of his corporeal presence, while on the other hand they believed that he would be protector to them and theirs for all time to come. Wherefore, their hearts torn by these conflicting emotions, the people, with the priests and deacons and every ecclesiastical rank, carried the dead saint to that place which he had determined upon while alive.[1] They prepared a new sarcophagus in the church, and placed the body there with the customary rites of sepulture. And when all was duly performed, they returned to their homes, comforted by the power of faith.

But in the place where they interred the sacred body there was an abundant succession of divine blessings. Through the prayers of the saint, those who came thither possessed by divers infirmities obtained healing remedy of body and mind. Some already moribund in the whole body and almost completely lifeless, at the

Regesta, i, 1, pp. 40 f. In the summer of 754 also Pippin was near Paris, at Verberie and (28 July) at St. Denis. *Regesta*, i, 1, pp. 38 f. But Tangl's confident assertion, "Während derselben Zeit hatte Lull in höchster Eile eine Reise an den Hof unternommen, um sich rasch die Nachfolge in Mainz bei Pippin und dem am Königshof weilenden Papst zu sichern," is in truth the merest conjecture, and, in view of the care with which Boniface had provided for the succession before his departure to Frisia (p. 78, above; and *E.*, 93), a most unlikely one on the face.

[1] The cathedral at Fulda. Eigil says that Lul wished to retain the body at Mayence. *Vita Sturmi*, 15b.

last breath, were restored to their pristine health. Others, whose eyes were veiled by blindness, received their sight. Yet others, bound fast in the snares of the devil, out of their senses and mad, afterward regained soundness of mind, and, restored to pristine health, gave praise and glorified God: who deigned to adorn and enrich and honor his servant with this great gift, and to glorify him by dazzling miracles made manifest to present and future times and ages, when the fortieth year of his pilgrimage had passed: which year also is reckoned of the incarnation of the Lord the seven hundred and fifty-fifth, and the eighth indiction.[1] Moreover he sat in the episcopacy thirty-six years six months and six days.[2] And so in the manner described above, on the fifth of June, rewarded with the triumph of martyrdom, he departed to the Lord: to whom is honor and glory unto ages of ages. Amen.

[1] The Fulda tradition, supported by Tangl in his essay mentioned above, gives the year as 754. Tangl's arguments, though they have won a very general acceptance, seem to me far from conclusive.

[2] An error. See p. 60, n. 2.

CHAPTER IX

How in the Place where the Blood of Martyrs was shed, a Living Fountain appeared to those who were inspecting the Preparations for a Church

Having recounted the saint's distinguished deeds in childhood, boyhood, youth, and the prime of life, and even in old age, let us return to those wonders that by the help of the Lord were wrought to declare to mortals the sanctity of the saint's life, after this world's race was run and that life was happily ended; and recall to memory a miracle for folk to remember and repeat. Venerable Bishop Lul told us the story of the miracle even as he learned it from glorious King Pippin, who in turn heard it from eyewitnesses. As Lul related it to us, it was as follows.

In the place where of yore the precious blood of the holy martyr was shed, the church and a great part of the Frisian folk planned to rear high upon a deep foundation an earthen mound. This was because of the vast irruptions of the neap and spring tides,[1] which in alternation disturb the tides of sea and ocean, the lessening of the waters and the floods.[2] On the mound they proposed to raise a church — as was done later[3] —

[1] *Ledonis ac malinae inruptiones.*

[2] Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, 29.

[3] Dedicated to Saint Paul and Boniface. *Versus Alchuini de Ecclesia Sancti Liudgeri*, in *M.G.H.*, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, i (1881), p. 304:

> " Adjuvat hinc Paulus, doctor Bonifatius inde,
> Haec illis quoniam constat simul aula dicata."

and to erect a habitation of the servants of God in the same place. But when now the mound was wholly finished and the entire work of its erection was completed, the residents and inhabitants of that place, having returned home, had some discussion among themselves in regard to the want of fresh water, which throughout almost all Frisia occasions the greatest difficulty both to men and to beasts. Then at length, through the Lord's compassion, a certain man, Abba by name, who in accordance with the edict of glorious King Pippin administered the office of count over that district and place and was director of the work in question, taking comrades with him, mounted, and rode round the hill, and inspected the mound. Suddenly and unexpectedly the steed of an attendant, while merely stamping on the ground, felt it sinking and giving way altogether, and wallowed, its fore legs held fast in the soil, until those who were more active and skilful jumped down very hurriedly from their steeds, and pulled out the horse that was stuck fast in the earth. But at once a miracle stupendous and worthy to behold was made manifest to those who were present. A fountain, exceeding clear beyond the manner of that country, and wondrous sweet and pleasant to the taste, came bursting out, and, penetrating through unknown channels, flowed forth, so that it seemed already a very large brook. Astounded by this miracle, they returned home with rejoicing and gladness, and made known to the churches those matters which they had seen.

A LIST OF EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE LIFE

A LIST OF EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE LIFE

(a) *Editions*

Henricus Canisius. *Sancti Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstadiani Liber de vita S. Bonifacii Martyris, Germanorum Apostoli, Archiepiscopi Moguntini. Nunc primum editus ex manuscriptis codicibus Monasterii Rebdorffensis, prope Eichstadium, et Magnifici et Cl. D. Alberti Hungeri Procancellarii Academiae Ingolstadiensis, &c.* In his *Antiqua Lectio*, tom. iv, pars secunda (Ingolstadii, 1603), pp. 337–391, 742–745.[1]

This is repeated, with a new preface and additional notes, in the second edition of Canisius, by Jacques Basnage (*Thesaurus Monumentorum*, etc., Amstelaedami or Antverpiae, 1725), in vol. ii, pp. 227–249.[2]

Nicolaus Serarius, in *Epistolae S. Bonifacii Martyris* (Moguntiae, 1605; with new title-page, 1629), pp. 253–284. From a manuscript furnished to Serarius by Andreas Weber of Frankfort, supplemented from the edition of Canisius. Begins: " Prologus in Vitam, vel Passionem Beatissimi Martyris Christi, & Archiepiscopi Bonifacii."

[1] Title, p. 337; De Willibaldo, Bonifacio, Lullo, Megingozo, pp. 338–40; text, pp. 341–386; Notae et variae lectiones, pp. 387–391; Variae lectiones in Vitam S. Bonifacii, scriptam a S. Willibaldo, ex membranis m. s. Monasterii Windbergensis in Bavaria, pp. 742–745.

[2] Text, pp. 232–249.

Laurentius Surius. *Vita S. Bonifacii Archiepiscopi Moguntini, Germanorum Apostoli et Martyris, authore S. Wilibaldo primo Eistatense Episcopo.* In the fourth edition of his *De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis* or *Vitae Sanctorum* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1617), Junius, pp. 49–57. Lacks Chapter IX.

In the latest edition of Surius (Augustae Taurinorum, 1875–80) Willibald's work is omitted.

Jean Mabillon. *Vita Sancti Bonifacii Episcopi Maguntini, et Martyris, Auctore Willibaldo ipsius discipulo. Ex tomo 4. Henrici Canisii, et Nicolao Serario.* In *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, saeculum tertium, pars secunda (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1672), pp. 4–27.

In the second edition of the same (Venetiis, 1734), pp. 1–25 (text, pp. 3–25).

Godfried Henschen and Daniel van Papenbroeck. *Vita I, auctore Willibaldo Presbytero. Ex Ms. Trevirensi et editionibus tribus, Canisii, Serarii, ac Mabilionis.* In *Acta Sanctorum*, Junius, tom. i (Antverpiae, 1695), pp. 460–473; *ibid.* (Venetiis, 1741), pp. 460–473; editio novissima, curante Joanne Carnandet, Junius, tom. i (Parisiis et Romae, 1867), pp. 453–465.

Georg Heinrich Pertz. *Vita S. Bonifacii Archiepiscopi, auctore Willibaldo Presbytero.* In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, ii (Hannoverae, 1829), pp. 331–353 (text, pp. 333–353).

John Allen Giles. *De Vita vel Passione Beatissimi Martyris Bonifacii, auctore Willibaldo.* In his *Sancti Bonifacii Opera quae extant Omnia* (Londini, 1844), vol. ii, pp. 143–182. From Serarius, with some emendations from Pertz.

Giles reprints this in his *Vita* [!] *quorundum* [!] *Anglo-Saxonum: Original Lives of Anglo-Saxons and others, who lived before the Conquest* (London, 1854), pp. 157–197. This volume is the sixteenth and last of the *Publications of the Caxton Society*.

Jacques Paul Migne. *Vita S. Bonifacii, Auctore Willibaldo, ipsius discipulo.* In *Patrologia Latina* (title page, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*), vol. lxxxix (Parisiis, 1850), coll. 603–634. Repeated from Mabillon.

Philipp Jaffé. *Willibaldi Vita S. Bonifatii.* In his *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, tom. iii (Monumenta Moguntina), Berolini, 1866, pp. 429–471. Also in *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii Archiepiscopi Moguntini*, reprinted for school use from the above work in the same place and year, pp. 10–52.

Vita Sancti Bonifacii Episcopi Moguntini et Martyris, auctore Willibaldo, secundum priorem, ut videtur, conscriptionem nunc primum edita. In *Analecta Bollandiana*, i (Paris and Brussels, 1882), pp. 51–72.

Not the original text of Willibald's Life, as the editors supposed, but a condensation made in the twelfth century or earlier.[1]

August Nürnberger. *Vita S. Bonifatii, auctore Willibaldo. Aus der Münchener Handschrift neu herausgegeben und mit textkritischem Apparat versehen.* In *Siebenundzwanzigster Bericht der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Philomathie in Neisse* (Neisse, 1895), pp. 113–180 (text, pp. 123–179). Reprinted in separate form, Breslau, 1895.

The reprint adds at the end a page of " Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen."

[1] *Analecta Bollandiana*, xv, pp. 268–270; Levison, *Vitae Bonifatii*, pp. xxvii f.

Wilhelm Levison. *Vita Bonifatii auctore Willibaldo.* In his *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii Archiepiscopi Moguntini* (Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1905), pp. 1–57. With a full and excellent introduction and good notes. Levison's work is included in the series *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*; but it is in no sense a repetition of Pertz's edition.

(b) *Selections*

Martin Bouquet prints extracts in his *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, tom. iii (Paris, 1741), pp. 664–666 (nouvelle éd., 1869), and tom. v (1744), pp. 424–425 (nouvelle éd., 1869). From Mabillon.

Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. iii (Oxford, 1871), pp. 295–296, give so much of Chapter IV as in this translation is comprised in the second paragraph, lacking the last sentence. From Jaffé.

Ernst Dümmler, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Epistolae Karolini Aevi, ii (Berolini, 1895), pp. 500–501, gives a recension of the Prologue from manuscripts.

(c) *German Translations*

Dat leven des Erwerdighen hilligen Bisschops und mertelers sunte Bonifacy. A fifteenth century Low German translation of the Life by Willibald, with some abridgment and the omission of the Prologue, the beginning of Chapter VIII, and Chapter IX, and with some additions from the Life attributed to Bishop Radbod of

Utrecht. The translation was made at Freckenhorst in Westphalia. It has been edited by W. Dorow (*Denkmäler alter Sprache und Kunst*, i, 1, Bonn, 1823, pp. 53–86) and by J. H. Schulte (*Das Leben des h. Bonifacius, des Apostels der Deutschen, in niederdeutscher Sprache*, Warendorf and Münster, 1852).

Heinrich Eduard Bonnell. *Leben des heiligen Bonifacius von Willibald. Aus der Lateinischen Urschrift des achten Jahrhunderts zum ersten Male übertragen.* Berlin, 1856.

Philipp Hedwig Külb. *Willibalds Leben des heiligen Bonifacius.* In his *Sämmtliche Schriften des heiligen Bonifacius* (Ratisbon, 1859), vol. ii, pp. 213–270.

Bernhard Eduard Simson. *Willibald's Leben des heiligen Bonifazius, nach der Ausgabe der Monumenta Germaniae übersetzt und erklärt.* Berlin, 1863. A spirited and scholarly translation, with good notes.

Wilhelm Arndt. *Willibalds Leben des heiligen Bonifazius.* In *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, VIII. Jahrhundert, 2. Band (Berlin, 1863), pp. 1–47; second edition (Leipsic, 1888), pp. 1–52. Arndt anticipated the editors of the text in using — though only to a limited extent —the best manuscript, Monacensis 1086.

M. M. Wilden. *Willibald's Leben des heiligen Bonifacius, aus den Monumenta Germaniae übersetzt.* An appendix (pp. 315–360) to his *Beda des Ehrwürdigen Kirchengeschichte der Angelsachsen* (Schaffhausen, 1866).

Heinrich Joseph Mertens. *Leben oder Leiden des seligsten Martyrers Bonifazius, verfasst von Willibald.* In his *Eine heilige Königsfamilie* (Ratisbon, etc., 1875), pp. 124–175. Of inferior value.

(d) *French Translation*

Charles Barthélemy. *Vie de Saint Boniface, Archevêque de Mayence et Martyr, écrite au Huitième Siècle par Willibalde, Prêtre du Diocèse de Mayence, et complétée au Neuvième Siècle par Saint Ludger, Premier Évêque de Mimigerneford.* In his *Les Vies de tous les Saints de France depuis le Premier Siècle,* neuvième année (Versailles, 1868): the Life by Willibald in coll. 705–745; extracts from Liudger's Life of Gregory, coll. 745–759.

INDICES

INDEX OF AUTHORS CITED IN THE NOTES

Adam of Bremen, 86.
Alcuin, 92.
Aldhelm, 31, 41.
Analecta Bollandiana, 99.
Annales Regni Francorum, 77.
Arndt, Wilhelm, 64, 82.
Augustine, Saint, 55, 62.

Bede, 28, 31, 33, 43, 51, 92.
Benedict of Nursia, Saint, 30, 34, 47.
BIBLE, THE:
Acts, 81.
I Corinthians, 37, 38, 39, 55, 66, 73.
II Corinthians, 44, 47, 78.
Daniel, 35.
Deuteronomy, 39.
Genesis, 87.
Hebrews, 25, 65, 72.
Isaiah, 62, 76.
John, 35, 71, 82.
Judges, 39.
Luke, 29, 39, 80, 81.
Mark, 35.
Matthew, 29, 30, 53, 60, 66, 77, 80, 83, 84.
Numbers, 87.
I Peter, 83.
Philemon, 35.
Philippians, 35.
Psalms, 37, 38, 86.
Revelation, 86.
Romans, 30, 35, 53, 68, 83.
I Thessalonians, 52, 83.
II Thessalonians, 47.
I Timothy, 35, 56.
II Timothy, 36, 55, 79, 83.
Titus, 45.
Binterim, A. J., 12.
Böhmer, J. F., 63, 89, 90.
Bonnell, H. E., 64, 82.

Capitulare Suessionense, 72, 73.
Cassianus, Joannes, 34.
Cicero, 83.

DuCange, 47.
Durand, Ursin, 16.

Ebert, Adolf, 12.
Ebrard, August, 71.
Eigil, 11, 81, 88, 89, 90.
Eugippius, 29.

Festgabe zum Bonifatius-Jubiläum 1905, 79, 86.
Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte, 44.

Gaisford, Thomas, 13.
Giles, J. A., 13, 16.
Giry, Arthur, 50.
Gregory the Great, 25, 34, 45, 54.

Hauck, Albert, 11, 78.
Hofmann, G. D., 55.

Isidorus Hispalensis, 13, 31, 32, 41, 62, 74.

Jaffé, Philipp, 14, 32, 80.
Jerome, Saint, 25.

Karlmanni Capitulare, 72.
Külb, P. H., 12, 64, 82.
Kylie, Edward, 16.

Levison, Wilhelm, 17, 27, 32, 45, 54, 72, 73, 80, 83, 86, 99.
Lindsay, W. M., 86.
Liudger, 55, 66.

Mai, Angelo, 12.
Manitius, Max, 13, 14, 17.
Martène, Edmond, 16.
Martyrologium Fuldense, 83.
Migne, J. P., *see Patrologia Latina.*
Monumenta Germaniae Historica:
Auctores Antiquissimi, ix, 23.
Capitularia, i, 72, 73, 89.
Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi, ii, 15, 50. *See S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae.*
Leges, sect. v, 50.
Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, i, 13, 14, 92.
Scriptores, ii, 81. *See* Eigil.
Scriptores, xv, 1, 12, 56, 77. *See* Liudger, *Vita Willibaldi, Vita Wynnebaldi.*
Mühlbacher, Engelbert, 63, 89, 90.

Nürnberger, August, 12.
Nun of Heidenheim, the, *see Vita Willibaldi, Vita Wynnebaldi.*

Otloh, 18, 63, 64, 82.

Patrologia Latina, 16, 25, 34, 45.
Poenitentiale S. Bonifacii, 12.
Programm des königl. katholischen Gymnasiums zu Neisse, 12.

Rettberg, F. W., 12, 61, 78.
Rheinisches Museum, 13.
Richter, Gregor, 79.
Roth, Paul, 49.
Rousseau, J. B., 18.
Rufinus, 25.

S. Bonifatii et Lulli Epistolae, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 33, 41, 50, 51, 52, 61, 62, 63, 67, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 90.
Scherer, Carl, 86.
Schmitz, H. J., 12.
Scott, 82.
Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, 77.

Selwyn, William, 33, 56.
Serarius, Nicolaus, 12, 14.
Silius Italicus, 83.
Simson, B. E., 82.
Smith, I. G., 16.
Soetbeer, Adolf, 44.
Symmachus, Pope, 50.

Tangl, Michael, 89, 90, 91.
Trithemius, Joannes, 19.

Victorius Aquitanus, 23.
Vita Willibaldi, 77.
Vita Wynnebaldi, 11.

Wasserschleben, F. W. H., 12.
Wattenbach, Wilhelm, 12, 17.
Wilmanns, August, 13.

Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde, 89.

GENERAL INDEX

Abba, Frankish count, 93.
Adalharius (Ethelhere), 83, n. 1.
Ad-Escancastre (Exeter), 30.
Aelmere (the Zuyder Zee), 80, 88.
Aethelbald, king of Mercia, 15.
Aldebert, Gallic pseudo-saint, 72 f.
Aldhelm, 15.
Alps, the, 49, 51, 58.
Altsaxones, 62, n. 2.
Amanaburch (Amöneburg), 56, 57, 68.
Anacletus (Anicetus), 25.
Ananias, 61, n. 3.
Ancients, the (the old Saxons), 30, 41.
Angles, 43.
Anointing of Pippin, the, 77, n. 9.
Arianism, 74.
Auguries, 63.
Augustine, Saint, 72, n. 4.
Auspices, 63.

Barbarians, 55.
Bavarians, the, 51, 68, 70, 71, 77.
Bee, simile of the, 51 f.
Bell, miracle of the, 88 f.
Benedict, Saint, of Nursia, 34.
Beorwald, abbot of Glastonbury, 41.
Berehthere, opponent of Boniface, 65.
Bertwald, archbishop of Canterbury (692–731), 41 f.
Bibrantibus, 82, n. 3.
Boniface, Saint, 11, 24, 25.
  name of, 47, 61.
  writings of, 12–16.
  Life of, by Willibald, 17, 23–93.
  later lives, 17 f.
  modern literature relative to, 18 f.
  importance and character of his work, 19 f.
  his mother, 27.
  his father, 27–30.
  early desire for the monastic life, 27–30.
  enters the monastery at Exeter, 30.
  early studies, 31 f.
  overcomes the passions of youth, 32.
  removes to Nhutscelle, 33.
  great learning of, 33 f.
  gains fame as teacher and preacher, 34–38.
  ordained priest, 38 f.
  abstinence of, 39.
  embassy to Canterbury, 40 ff.
  first missionary journey to Frisia, 42–45.

Boniface, again at Nhutscelle, 46 f.
first journey to Rome, 47–51.
labors in Thuringia, 52, 64 ff., 69, 77.
aids Willibrord in Frisia, 52–56.
converts many Hessians, 57 f., 62 ff.
second journey to Rome, 58–62.
ordination as bishop, 60 ff.
under the protection of Charles Martel, 62.
fells the sacred oak, 63 f.
receives reënforcements from England, 66 f.
made archbishop, 67.
builds churches, 68.
inspects the Bavarian churches, 68.
third journey to Rome, 69 f.
attacks schismatics in Bavaria, 68, 70 f.
ordains bishops, 71, 77, 78.
at the Frankish church councils, 71–76.
conflict with Aldebert and Clemens, 72 f.
appoints Lul his successor in the see of Mayence, 78.
his final missionary work in Frisia, 78–82.
the martyrdom, 82 ff.
the sepulture, 87–90.
miracles following his death, 90–93.
Bordne (Boorn), river, 82.
Bosa, deacon, 81.
Britain, 24, 66, 70.
Bugga, abbess, 16.
Burchard, bishop of Würzburg, 77.
Burgundians, the, 58.
Bynna, messenger, 58.

Caesarius, bishop of Arles, 50, n. 2.
Canterbury, 41.
Carloman, duke of Austrasia (741–47), 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77.
Ceillier, Remy, 16.
Celtic missionaries in Germany, 70, n. 4.
Chalcedon, Council of (451), 75.
Charles Martel, Frankish mayor of the palace and duke of Austrasia, 44, 53, 62, 71.
Clemens, expelled from the church by Boniface, 72 f.
Codices Bonifatiani, 86, n. 2.
Confession of faith, 59.
Constantine the Great, Roman emperor, 74.
Constantinople, Council of (381), 74 f.
Councils, ecclesiastical, 40 f., 71 f., 74 ff., 77 f., 89, n. 2.
Crimean War, the, 18, n. 1.
Crooked serpent, the, 76.
Cuent (Canche) river, 49.
Cuentawich, 49.

Danes, the, 43, n. 4.
Daniel, bishop of Winchester (705–45), 16, 47, 48.

Deorulf, German chief, 57.
Dettic, German chief, 57.
Deuteronomy, Book of, 72, n. 4.
Dionysius Exiguus, 61, n. 2.
Dioscurus, excommunicated, 75.
Divinations, 63.
Donatus, 13.
Dorstet, city, 43.
Dudd, abbot, 14, 16.
Dümmler, Ernst, 13, 15.

Eadburga, abbess, 16.
Eanbercht, opponent of Boniface, 65.
East Franks, the, 77.
Ebert, Adolf, 18.
Eigil, 11.
England, 18.
Eoba (Eobanus), assistant to Boniface, 81, 83, n. 1.
Ephesus, Council of (431), 75.
Episcopi suburbicarii, 61, n. 3.
Epistola formata, 50, n. 3.
Erembert, bishop of Freising, 71.
Eremvulf, schismatic, 68.
Ethelhere, priest, 81, 83, n. 1.
Eusebius of Caesarea, 25.
Eutyches, abbot of Constantinople, excommunicated, 75.
Exempla virtutis, 12, n. 1.
Exeter, *see* Ad-Escancastre.

Fountain, miracle of the, 92 f.
Francia, 52, 75.
Franks, the, 44, 58, 62, 70, 72, 77.
Freising, 71.
Frideslare (Fritzlar), church and monastery at, 68.
Frisia, 44, 52, 80, 81, 93.
Frisians, the, 44, 45, 52, 53, 57, 80, 81, n. 3, 92.
Fulda, abbey, 11, 18, 81, n. 3. cathedral of, 79, 86, n. 1, 90, n. 1.
Fulda, river, 88.

Gaesmere (Geismar), felling of the sacred oak at, 63 f.
Gaibald, bishop of Ratisbon, 71.
Gaul, 24.
Germany, 14, 18, 24, 51, 55, 57, 81, n. 3.
Giles, John Allen, 13, 16.
Glestingaburg (Glastonbury), monastery, 41.
Gregory I, the Great, pope (590–604), 25, 72, n. 4.
Gregory II, pope (715–31), 49 ff., 55, 58, 59–62, 67, 74.
Gregory III, pope (731–41), 67 f., 69 f., 71, n. 2, 74.
Gregory, disciple of Boniface, 11, 55, n. 4.
Gundaecer, monk, 81.

Hadda, monk, 88.
Haegsted (Eichstätt), 77.
Hamanaburch, 68. *See* Amanaburch.
Hamund, deacon, 81.
Hathovulf, monk, 81.
Hauck, Albert, 18.
Heathen, Heathens, *see* Pagans.
Heden, Thuringian chief, 65.

Hegesippus, 25.
Heretics, 74 f.
in Thuringia, 52, 65.
in Bavaria, 68, 70.
among the Franks, 72 f.
early Celtic missionaries in Germany, 70, n. 4.
Hessians, the, 57, 62 ff., 67, 69.
Hilary, Roman archdeacon, 23, n. 1.
Hugobert, duke of the Bavarians, 68.
Hunraed, opponent of Boniface, 65.

Iar, month, 51.
Illehere, monk, 81.
Incantations, 63.
Ine, king of the West Saxons (688–725), 40 ff.
Infula, 41, n. 5.
Isidore of Seville, 13.
Italy, 51, 58, 70.
Itinerant preaching, practice of, 28.

Jaffé, Philipp, 14.
Jerome, Saint, 72, n. 4.
John, bishop of Salzburg, 71.

Kent, 41.
Kylie, Edward, 16.

Lateran, the, 59.
Legerdemain, 63.
Levison, Wilhelm, 17.
Liutprand, king of the Lombards (712–44), 51, 70.
Lombards, the, 49, 51, 70.
Lul, successor of Boniface in the bishopric of Mayence, 15, 17, 23, 78, 79 f., 88, 89, 92.
Lundenwich (London), 43, 48.

Macedonius, condemned, 75.
Magontia (Mayence), city, 74, 88, 89.
Mai, Angelo, 12.
Manitius, Max, 18.
Megingoz, bishop of Würzburg, 17, 23.
Migne, J. A., 16.
Milites, 49, n. 3.
Miracles, 88 f., 90 f., 92 f.

Nestorius, excommunicated, 75.
Nhutscelle (Nursling, Nutshalling), monastery, 13, 33, 41.
Nice, Council of (325), 74.
Nisan, month, 51.
Nithard, 14, 16.
Nun of Heidenheim, the, 11.

Oak of Jupiter, the, 63 f.
Odilo, duke of the Bavarians, 70 f.
Oilpress, simile of the, 23 f.
Orthorpf (Ohrdruf), monastery at, 66.
Ostoraeche, district in Frisia, 82.
Otloh, monk of St. Emmeram, 17 f.

Pagans, 19 f., 32, n. 1, 57, 66, n. 2.
in Frisia, 44, 52 f., 80–87.
Hessians, 57 f., 63 f., 67.
Thuringians, 65, 67.
slaughter Boniface and his companions, 82 ff.
quarrel over the booty, 84 ff.
chastised, 86 f.
heathen practices, 16, 63.
Pamphilus, 25.
Pilgrims' lodge, the, at Rome, 59.
Pippin, duke of Neustria (from 741), of Austrasia (from 747), king of the Franks (751–68), 71, 72, 73, 77 f., 88, 89, n. 2, 92, 93.
Plebis, 47, n. 4, 62, n. 2.
Potthast, August, 18.

Radbod, king of the Frisians, 44, 52, 53.
Regina (Ratisbon), 71.
Rettberg, F. W., 18.
Rhine, the, 53, n. 1, 80, 89, n. 1.
Romans, 69.
Rome, 19, 25, 47, 58, 67, 69.
Rousseau, Johann Baptist, 18.
Ruthard, fictitious monk of Hirschau, 19.

Sacrificial rites, 63.
Saint Michael, church of, at Hamanaburch, 68.
Saint Peter, church of, at Frideslare, 68.
Saint Peter, church of, at Rome, 49, 59.
Saint Peter, oratory of, at Gaesmere, 64.
Salzburch (Salzburg), 71.
Sapphira, 61, n. 3.
Saxons, of England, 43, 70.
Saxons, people of Germany, 57, 65, 77.
Schismatics, *see* Heretics.
Scirbald, deacon, 81.
Scythia, 14.
Selwyn, William, 18.
Serarius, Nicolaus, 14.
'Seron,' 13, n. 6.
Sevenfold spirit, the, 62.
Slaves, 38.
Slavs, 14, 77.
Smith, Isaac Gregory, 16, 18.
Soissons, 77, n. 9.
Soldiers, the, 49, 58.
Springs, sacrifices to, 63.
Stephen II, pope (752–57), 62, n. 1, 89, n. 2.
Stephen, successor of Winbert, 48.
Sturmi, abbot of Fulda, 11.

Theodosius I, the Great, Roman emperor, 75.
Theodosius II, emperor of the East (408–50), 75.
Theotbald, Thuringian chief, 65.
Thuringia, 51, 52, 64 f., 67, 69, 79.
Thuringi Christiani, 62, n. 2.
Ticena (Pavia), 70.
Tides, the, 92.
Torchtwine, opponent of Boniface, 65.

Trecht (Utrecht), city, 44, 81, 88 f.
Trees, sacrifices to, 63.
Trithemius, Joannes, 19.
Turkey, 18, n. 1.
Tuscany, 24.
Tyssesburg (Tisbury), monastery, 41.

Uncultivated fields, metaphor of the, 51.
Utrecht, *see* Trecht.

Victims, inspection of, 63.
Vivilo, bishop of Passau, 71, n. 2.
Voyages, 43, 46, 48 f.
on the Rhine, 53, 80, 88, 89.
on Aelmere, 80, 87 f.

Wacchar, monk, 81.
Waldburga, abbess of Heidenheim, 11, n. 1.
Walthere, priest, 81.
Westeraeche, district in Frisia, 82.
Willibald, author of the Life of Boniface, 11, 17.
Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt, 11, 77.
Willibrord, English missionary, 'apostle of the Frisians,' 53 ff.
Winbert, abbot of Nhutscelle, 33, 41, 42 f., 46.
Wintra, abbot of Tisbury, 41.
Wintrung, priest, 81.
Wirzaburch (Würzburg), 77.
World, nature of the, 76.
Wulfhard, abbot of Ad-Escancastre, 30, 32.
Wynnebald, abbot of Heidenheim, 11.

Yeomen, 38.

Zacharias, pope (741–52), 14, 16, 62, n. 1, 76, n. 1.

DATE DUE

MAR 1 8 1985

APR 2 3 1985

CENTRAL BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
0 0021 0014391 2

208.1
B715
Z2Wi
Willibald, presbyter, 8th cent.
AUTHOR
The life of Saint Boniface.
TITLE
41405

208.1
B715 Willibald, presbyter, 8th
Z2Wi cent.
The life of Saint Boniface.

41405